

A  
COLLECTION  
OF  
LETTERS,  
FROM THE  
ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS  
OF

Many PRINCES, great PERSONAGES and STATESMEN.

TOGETHER,  
With some curious and scarce TRACTS, and Pieces  
of ANTIQUITY,  
RELIGIOUS, POLITICAL, and MORAL.

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By L. HOWARD, D.D.

Rector of St. George's, *Southwark*, and Chaplain to her Royal High-  
ness the Princess Dowager of *Wales*.

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L O N D O N:

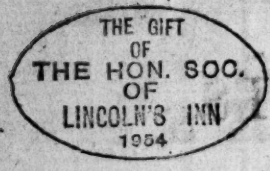
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COLLECTION

LETTERS



Many Printed Great Personal and Statutory

TOGETHER

With some curious and scarce Tracts, and Pieces  
of Antiquity

Religious, Political, and Moral

By A. HOWARD, D.D.

Rector of St. George's, London, and Chaplain to her Majesty  
the late Queen Dowager of Wales

LONDON

Printed by J. B. L. AUTHOR

and sold by W. Vintager, at the Green Gate, between the  
Trafalgar and Regent Streets

DEDICATION  
His ROYAL HIGHNESS  
GEORGE  
PRINCE of WALES.

S I R,

AT a Time of Life when YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS is receiving the ADVANTAGES, and adding to Your illustrious Birth, and great natural Abilities, the ORNAMENTS and ACQUIREMENTS of a liberal and princely Education, of which an Acquaintance with the History of States and Kingdoms, and especially

a cially



ii DEDICATION.

cially of those which Your ROYAL HIGHNESS is born to preside over, is no inconsiderable Part ; the following Collection humbly intreats Your ROYAL HIGHNESS's Acceptance and Protection. It consists of several Pieces of *Antiquity*, and *Letters* of Princes, great Personages, and Statesmen in former Times, which, in their Original *English* Dress and Manner of Writing and Behaving, have the Honor to appear before You. I am not vain enough to think them worthy of Your ROYAL HIGHNESS's Attention, nor capable of adding any Thing to Your Improvement ; but hope, as *Curiosities*, they may be some Amusement to Your ROYAL HIGHNESS, in an Avocation from Your important Studies and Employments.

I am tempted to make this humble Offering to Your ROYAL HIGHNESS, from Your humane Disposition, and a Sort of Command from Your ROYAL FATHER,  
to



## DEDICATION. iii

to make these Pieces of Antiquity public under his Patronage, whom I had the Honor and Felicity to attend for a long Course of Years.

May the great and wise Orderer of all Things, who hath called to a celestial Diadem, that amiable Prince, alleviate our Loss in the Preservation of Your ROYAL HIGHNESS, the growing Image and Representative of his many Virtues; and as *Kingdoms* are exalted, and the *Thrones* of *Princes* established by *Righteousness*, may his divine and assisting Grace continue You in that safe Path of Religion, which the *most excellent, pious, to* and universally *esteemed Princess*, Your *Royal Mother*, is so careful to advise, guide, and direct You.

May the Supreme Being preserve to You and us the precious and valuable Life of *his present Majesty*, Your *great and influencing* Example to *rule well and happily*, who  
is



iv DEDICATION.

is training You up to *Greatness* and *Goodness*, and so tenderly watches over your youthful State, that the *hopeful* and *promising Spring* may proceed to a glorious and happy Autumn. As there are many good and great Qualities to raise our Hopes and Expectations from Your ROYAL HIGHNESS, so there are many Things within Your own View to make Your Prospect of *Life* and *Empire* delightful: There is a National Attachment to Your illustrious Parents, which entails itself on Your ROYAL HIGHNESS with all its Attendances of Duty and Affection.

*I am,*

*May it please Your ROYAL HIGHNESS,*

*Your most dutiful, most obedient,*

*And most devoted Servant,*

LEONARD HOWARD.

To the Compiler of this COLLECTION.

Dear S I R,

I Received your Information of the Accident which consumed your Manuscripts, with a real Concern for your private Loss, and for what the Public will suffer; having had the Pleasure of seeing many of the valuable Letters and Papers which composed that Collection. I much approved of your Intention to advertise the Misfortune, and as it might be some Time before you could be able to compleat another for the Press, thought you extremely right to proffer your Subscribers a return of their Money; tho' in your List of Friends, I did not see *one* that in my Opinion would be unwilling to wait till you had Opportunity to comply with your Proposals, as your Case was unhappily circumstanced.

To shew my Inclination to assist you, I have inclosed two *Manuscripts* which I offer to your intended Collection; one is a Letter from a † young Lady of great Rank in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and what is remarkable in it is the great Humility of those Times; for she accepts of a *cast-off* Gown, and received with great Thankfulness her Lady Mamma's Present of *two Crowns*, a *Sum* which, in *these Days*, is an Offering too mean for a *Lady's Woman*, and would produce many Sneers and saucy Ridicule from the *pretty party-coloured Gentlemen*, if it should compose the *whole* Gratuity under the Candlestick for their Cards, and *con-*  
*descending* Attendance to snuff the Tapers.

If the modest and humble Notions of this young and valuable Antique (pardon the seeming Paradox) should  
give

† Katherine Bassett.



give any useful Hints so as to restrain the soaring Flights of our modern young Ladies, and those whimsical and extravagant Modes and Luxuries in Dress which too often render their future Husbands uneasily circumstanced, whose *fine Persons* more than *Fortune* were the Objects of their Affection, I shall receive great Satisfaction from this Letter's being transmitted to public View.

But now, Sir, I must offer something by Way of Recommendation of the *other Manuscript* which consists of Charges, Speeches, &c. of Sir *Henry Butler* (of the *Ormond* Family) mentioned in some Memoirs of the Great Men of *Ireland*, to be a most useful Justice of Peace, an upright and eloquent Member of Parliament; and who would have made, if he was not (as is doubtful) an admirable Speaker of their House of Commons.

You may perhaps perceive a remarkable Singularity in his Expressions, but they are full of strong and nervous Sense; nor is there a Period but seems to me to have a Tendency to promote public and private Virtue. I hope you will find them *Originals*, as I have been assured they are, and to be the Hand-Writing of the Author, who in the first Leaf has made this Memorandum. "I was called to the Bar by Sir *Maurice Eustace* Knt. Lord Chancellor in Hillary Term 1664."

Upon the whole, allowing for the Time they were wrote in, when the Stile of Writing so much differed from the present modern Elegance, I think these Papers worth the Perusal of the *greatest Man*, and every Thing in them appears calculated to form a *good one*; nor should I desire in any high Station a Plan of more useful

useful or safe Politics. There is a proper Shade of *solid Sense* and *Judgment* mixt with the gay Colourings of a *sprightly Wit* and *Imagination*, which makes the Piece extremely beautiful. If I may be allowed to make you laugh with an aukward and odd Simile, Sir *Harry's* Writings are like Ladies *fine Laces* which have been laid by, and, in their Terms, *rough-dry'd*; but they may be *sprinkled*, *smooth'd*, and *iron'd out* by some modern Genius, so as to appear again with great Beauty and Advantage.

A young Gentleman in the Commission of the Peace may be instructed from Sir *Harry's* Charges at the Quarter-Sessions, to appear on the Bench with some *Eclat*, without the dry Reading of Law, or Avocation from more useful and pleasing Studies.

With regard to his *Parliamentary* Speeches, I am persuaded they will *entertain*, tho' they may not be able to *improve* our present Members, many of whose Judgments in the Business of Parliament, tho' they are *young in Life* seem to be arrived at a *happy and wonderful Maturity*. There is indeed no Speaker of a House of Commons for them to afford the least Instruction to, since any Gentleman who shall hereafter succeed to that *Chair* may learn from the Wisdom and Experience of the *great Personage* that at present fills it; but He can receive nothing from any Predecessor.

I might do justice to so great a Character in enumerating the many Virtues which render him so valuable to the public and to his private Friends; I might enlarge on that strict Order and *inoffensive* Discipline



cipline which, without coming to disagreeable Extremes, and from that Weight and Authority which a universal Esteem gives him, immediately removes any little Irregularity, and forms the Place where he presides into a most beautiful and decent Assembly. But I am sensible I should offend by any panegyrical Enlargements, and shall therefore conclude this little and faint Sketch of this great Man's Character, in a Congratulation of *that County* which by its unanimous Vote and repeated Election, hath been the Instrument, the *Materia prima*, if I may so speak, of the Chair of a *British* House of Commons being so ably filled for many Parliaments.

Permit me, Sir, to add my Wishes, that when the Tribute of Mortality shall be demanded of him, or a more advanced and declining Life should call for Ease and Retirement from such a Weight of Business as hath many Years lain upon him; that his cordial Attachment and Fidelity to the present *Royal and Illustrious Family* that adorns our Throne; his approved Zeal and Affection for his Country; and his unfulfilled Honour and Integrity, may be added to the great Talents of his Successor.

Excuse the *long Journey* which my Pen has taken, but for your Comfort it can *Travel* no further, for I have hardly Paper-Room to assure you with what Sincerity of Friendship and hearty Wishes of Success, I am,

Dear Sir,

*Inner-Temple,*

Yours, &c. &c.

March 1, 1750.

C. D.



A  
COLLECTION  
OF  
LETTERS,  
Political, Religious, *and* Moral.

---

*A Letter concerning the Expedition of Pen and  
Venables against the Island of Hispaniola.*

S I R,



THE Opinion I was of, in that Discourse we had  
at -----, touching the Western Voyage of  
the *English* in the Year 1654. I have since been  
abundantly confirmed in, by the Perusal of some  
Papers and Memoirs of a Person of no mean Character  
throughout that Action, whose Employment gave him Op-  
portunity to know all, at least the most considerable, of its  
Transactions: And I have Reason to believe, by the Ac-

B

count



count I have had of him, he was sufficiently able to take his Measures of them aright. The Substance of what I gathered from his Notes, yea, and from Orders of their Councils of War, of their Commissioners, Declarations of the Army, and Letters of other Officers of the Army, which gave Account of their Actions and Proceedings all along that Voyage; I will here faithfully present you with: For, indeed, I am very desirous to beget in you the same Sentiments of that Affair, which I have, I think, with good Reason entertained. And the rather, because the Course you design to steer will give you Opportunity of Converse with those Persons, who are most inquisitive after, as most concerned to know, Matters of this Nature; and yet, perhaps, under greater Mistakes, in this Particular, than any others.

It was, doubtless, none of the least Ends, which that Fox *Oliver* had in that Design, to rid himself of some Persons, whom he could neither securely employ, nor safely discard: Which End seemed chiefly to influence the Managery of the whole Business, as you will perceive by the Story.

It was pretended at first, that this Design should be carried on with much Secrecy: But the Delay was so great, and thereby the Notice of it so public, as alarmed the *Spaniards* to prepare for their Reception. 'Twas *Venables's* Motion to have had Soldiers for the Service drawn out of the *Irish* Army, which he had been well acquainted with; but it was peremptorily denied; and they were appointed to be drawn out of the Army in *England*, whose Officers generally gave out of their several Companies the rawest and worst armed they had: And these were hastily shipped off at *Portsmouth*. And the chief of the Land-Officers, who were to go with them, were not suffered to rendezvous, or see them together, till they came to *Barbados*: Where (arriving Jan. 29. 1564.) they



they found their Men to want 500 of the Number promised; and near half of those they had were ill armed. To supply the latter Defect, they had been assured they should find 1500 Arms at *Barbados*; but they could not there make up 200 Arms: And all the Help they had was to make Half-pikes; wherein, and in fixing those Arms they had, they met with some Difficulty; for their Smiths Tools were on board their Store-ships, which were not yet come to them. For those Ships (taking in their Provisions at *London*) they were promised should meet them at *Portsmouth*, and at *Portsmouth* they were told they should reach them at *Barbados*; which yet they did not, nor till at least Six Months after: So that much of the Provision, which was defective at first taking in, was by that time grown very corrupt.

While they staid at *Barbados*, it plainly appeared, that not only the Inhabitants there were against the general Design, as destructive to their Interest; but that the Seamen bandied against the Land-Soldiers, and gave them not that Furtherance and Assistance which was in their Power: For, notwithstanding the great Want of Arms among the Land-Soldiers, the Sea-Officers would not be prevailed with to furnish them with any; nor so much as to lend them a Pike or Lance, though they had above 1200 of the former to spare; and great Numbers of the latter were put on board on purpose for the Soldiers to kill Cows with. At their going off from this Island, the Seamen had their full Allowance of Viſtuals, and, on their Fish-Days, Brandy; when the Land-Soldiers, for Four Days in the Week, had but half their Proportions of Meat, and on the other Three Fish-Days only Bread and Water.

In this Condition they left *Barbados* the last Day of *March* 1655. By the Way they touched at *St. Christopher's*, whence



they took aboard a Regiment of Soldiers, who had been raised in that Island: Among whom they were pleased to find Two *Englishmen* (*Cox* and *Bounty*), who had then lately come from *Hispaniola*, where the former had lived Twelve Years, and served as a Gunner in the Castle of *St. Domingo*, the chief City of the Island.

Now there were with the Two Generals, *Venables* and *Pen*, the former commanding by Land, the other by Sea, Two others joined in Commission, *Winslow* and *Butler*, who were thereby equally impowered; and nothing was to be done without their joint Advice and Orders. Yea, when on Shore, *Venables* (though he had, by his own Commission, Command of all the Land-Forces in Chief, yet) by this joint Commission (which was not broke up or discovered till they were all out at Sea) was restrained from acting any thing without the Concurrence of the Commissioners, or such one or more of them as should be present. A great Debate arose between these Commissioners, about dividing the Lion's Skin before he was caught; which occasioned much Heat among them, and gave great Dissatisfaction to the Soldiers. There was a Clause in this joint Commission, That all Prizes and Booties got by Sea or Land should be at the Dispose of the Commissioners, for the Advance of the present Service and Design. This the greater Part of the Commissioners judged was to be extended to all Sorts of Pillage. *Venables* thought it was meet to interpret it only of Ships and their Lading, and large Quantities of Treasure and Goods in Towns and Forts; and that to extend it to all Sorts of Booty, by whomsoever got, would be both impossible to put in Execution, and hugely disgustful to the Soldiers to attempt. When he could not prevail to have his Sense of this hard Clause pass, he propounded a middle Way, That none  
should

should conceal or retain any Arms, Money, Plate, Jewels, or Goods, to his private Use, on Pain of forfeiting his Share in the Whole, &c. but that all should be brought in unto Officers chose by mutual Consent, and sworn to true Execution; and Distribution to be made to each Man according to his Quality and Desert: And accordingly he formed an Order to that Effect for the Commissioners to sign, and a Declaration for the Officers of the Army to subscribe, testifying their Submission to the Order; and that they would endeavour, that all under their respective Command should observe it: And further, that when their several Pays should be discharged, they would acquiesce in the Disposal of the Surplus by the Commissioners, either in Rewards to the Deserving, or in Necessaries for the public Service, &c. This the Commissioners so far approved, as to appoint it to be writ fair, and Copies made, for each Regiment One. The Officers and Soldiers also were content and satisfied therewith. But, when it came to the Pinch, only *Pen* and *Venables* signed the Order; and so the Declaration fell too: Which, surely, was a great Oversight in the Commissioners who refused: For, by this means, they had soothed and pleased the Army with a fair Flourish; but, in reality, had obtained by common Consent to have the Whole at their own Dispose. Then the Commissioners proffering a Fortnight's Pay to the Soldiery, instead of the Pillage of *St. Domingo*, *Venables* prevailed with the Army to accept of Six Weeks Pay: But, when that would not be assured by the Commissioners, he requested the Officers and Soldiers, without standing on any Terms, to venture their Lives with him, and trust Providence for the Issue and Rewards: Which they agreed unto for that time; but withal many of them declared, they would never strike Stroke more, where there should



should be Commissioners thus to controul the Soldiers; but would forthwith return for *England*. By this time they drew near to *Hispaniola*. The Land-General, and the Officers, were for running the Fleet into the Harbour of *St. Domingo*; but they of the Fleet opposed it, *Pen* alleging there was a Boom, which would hinder their Advance; tho' *Coxe*, being called in, said, He believed there was no Boom in that Place; yea, he declared among the Soldiers, that he conceived the Harbour was uncapable of any thing of that kind. During the Debate about this Matter, Captain *Crispin*, who commanded a Frigate, offered to venture the running his Vessel into the Harbour, and bore up so near, as to fire on the Castle of *St. Domingo*, and discovered nothing of any Boom, or other Obstruction, as he often declared; yet was he commanded off by *Pen*. Then they of the Army resolved, at a Council of War (among other things), that One Regiment staying to land to the East of the City, (which, by Lot, fell to Colonel *Buller*), the rest of the Army should land some few Miles distant, at the River *Hine* (the Place where *Drake* landed), and force the Fort which stood at the Mouth of it: Yet the Scamen carried the Army a deal Westward of that River, to Point *Nizaoe*, whence they had above Thirty Miles March to the City, through a strange, woody, and very hot Country, where no Water could be found; and many of them had but Two Days Victuals delivered from the Fleet, none above Three: And in all this March they had no Guide; for *Coxe*, who was designed for that Office, had been, a little before the Landing, sent by *Pen* a fishing, and was not returned, nor could be heard of. In the Want of him, *Venables* desired to have had *Bounty*, or *Fermes*; but *Pen* would not part with either of them.

So

So soon as they were landed, the Commissioners appointed the publishing of an Order against plundering; and that all Pillage should be brought into a common Store: But they therein gave *Venables* Liberty to promise the Soldiers, in case the City should be taken by Storm, Six Weeks Pay, or a Moiety of the Pillage (excepting Arms, Ammunition, or such-like); or, in case it should be surrendered, Three Weeks Pay, or a Third of the Pillage. This Order was signed by *Pen, Winslow, and Butler*.

The Soldiers, who were before disgusted, were by this exasperated into Mutiny. A Sea-Regiment, which came on Shore, was the first that laid down Arms; and, by their Example, all the rest: And much-a-do *Venables* had in any sort to pacify them. At last they were persuaded to march, though with much Discontent; and in that unsatisfied mutinying Humour they marched Four Days without any Guide, tormented with Heat and Thirst, to come tired and spent to that Place, where they might have landed fresh the first Day.

The mean while Colonel *Buller* had, according to his Order, essayed to land Eastward of the City: But, finding no Place for it, was afterwards appointed by the Commissioners to land at *Hine* River; but with express Order not to stir thence till the Army came up. Accordingly he landed on *Monday, April 17.* and with him Colonel *Houldip*, and 500 of his Regiment, having *Coxe* in their Company. At their approaching the Fort near the River's Mouth, the *Spaniards* forsook it, leaving Two great Guns dismounted; and the Fort was, as much as their Haste would allow, dismantled. This encouraged *Buller* to pursue them towards the City; but, in the narrow Passes of the Woods he lost his Way, and came to some Plantations vacant and waterless, where he purposed to lie still, and expect the Army: Yet, next Morn-  
ing,



ing, he sent out a Party to descry the Fort of *St. Hieronimo*, who exposed themselves too much to View, and alarmed the *Spaniards*.

Soon after *Buller* was marched from the Fort where he landed, the Army came to the other Side of the River *Hine*; but could not pass it, wanting a Guide to shew them the Ford; which was, somewhat unusually, at the Influx of the River into the Sea, where they never searched; but marched Five Miles up the River, seeking one; and, at last, the Day being spent, were forced to quarter that Night without either Ford or fresh Water. Next Day, after marching Three Miles more, a Ford was found, and the River passed: And they had not gone far, when a Farm, with fresh Water, chancing in their Way, gave them great Refreshment; where making a Halt, and consulting what was meet for them to do, they all resolved to go to the Fleet at the Harbour, for Provision for their hungry Men: Unto which an *Irishman*, then brought in by some Soldiers, offered to guide them the next Way. *Venables*, who had been well acquainted with that Nation, was jealous of him, and would not have heeded him; but Commissioner *Butler* would have him followed; and charged them, by virtue of their Instructions, so to do: And follow him they did, till a fruitless March, Three or Four Miles the contrary Way, proved him a Liar. At last, hearing *Buller's* Drums, they made towards him, and met with him near the strong Fort of *St. Hieronimo* (a regular and well-fortified Pier) in the Road to the City. *Venables*, being at this time in the Van, which he had led all their long March, went himself with the Guide (for the Officers, being very weary, were willing to be excused) to search the Woods before the Army, and discovered the *Spaniards* in Ambush, before they stirred, who presently thereupon advanced.

vanced. The *English* Forlorn immediately fired upon them, (too hastily, and at too much Distance); which gave the *Spaniards* Advantage to fall in with them with their Lances, before they could charge again, and gave them some Disorder, and killed some Officers, among whom, to their great Loss, Captain *Coxe* perished. But the *English*, quickly recovering themselves, beat the Enemy back, and pursued them within Cannon-shot of the City. These weary spent Men, drawn on by this Skirmish, forgot that Thirst, which, so soon as the Pursuit was over, they fainted under; many, both Men and Horses, dying on the Place for very Thirst. *Venables*, being much endangered at this Action in the Rout of the Forlorn, was earnestly intreated and pressed by the Officers not to hazard himself so again, but march with a Body. This over, they called a Council of War; where (considering their want of Match, which was spent to Three or Four Inches; and of Provision, which all had been without Two Days, and some longer, and had no other Food but what Fruits the Woods afforded) they resolved again for their Ships, which the *Irishman's* Relation, and Commissioner *Butler's* peremptory Counsel, had diverted them from; and caused them to lose many Men and Horses, with Thirst and Hunger, in marching back that Way, which otherwise had been saved.

Four or five Days were spent at the Harbour in refreshing the tired fainting Soldiery, and taking new Resolutions for a second March and Charge, wherein they could not well be more speedy; for *Pen* and *Winslow*, two of the Commissioners, keeping at Sea with the Fleet (which rode some Leagues off from the Fort by *Hine* River), and refusing to come ashore, *Venables* (then ill with the Flux) was forced to make many dangerous Passages to them in small Brigantines for their con-



cunning Counsel; which, oft differing, caused much Delay, and gave the *Spaniards* time to gather Heart and Strength, and make Preparation for better Resistance. The common Soldiers the mean while were but ill treated from the Fleet: Those, that by Sickness or Wounds in the last Action were disabled for further Service (having no Tents or Carriages ashore to dispose of them in), were sent a Ship-board; and there they were kept 48 Hours on the bare Decks, without either Meat, Drink, or Dressing, that Worms bred in their Wounds (which they soon did in that hot Country); and some of them by that very Usage perished, as particularly one Capt. *Leverington*, a brave Man.

The others ashore, being furnished from the Ships with the worst and most mouldy of the Biscuit, and with Beef altogether unwatered, and no Brandy to chear their Spirits, had their Thirst greatly enraged; which that River, even where it was fresh (yet coming from Copper), rather augmented than asswaged. And this Usage and Diet, together with the extraordinary Rains that fell on their unsheltered Bodies, cast them all into violent Fluxes: Sorry Encouragements and Preparatives for a second March, which yet was at last resolved on.

*Tuesday Apr. 25.* they decamped, and marched, and had with them one Mortar-piece, and two Drakes; in the drawing whereof, and carrying Mattocks, Spades, and Calabashes of fresh Water, the strongest Men were employed, till all were reduced to almost a like Weakness; and the cruel Sea Officers afforded them no more Brandy with them, then would be about a good Spoonful to a Man. One Night they lodged in the Woods; the next Day they advanced toward the Fort *St. Hieronimo*, which they resolved to attack, being in their Way, about a Mile from the City, and not fit to  
leave

leave at their Backs. Adjutant-General *Jackson* had this Day the Command of the Forlorn, consisting of about 400 Men, in the Van whereof he put Capt. *Butler*, and himself brought up the Rear: Also he marched without any Wings on either Hand, to search the Woods, and discover Ambushes, which was expressly contrary both to his Orders, and to their constant Practice throughout their whole March from Point *Nizaoe*.

With this Forlorn thus managed, and all ready to faint for Thirst, having marched Eight Miles, without Water, in a narrow Pass in the thick Woods, where but Six could well march abreast, they fell into an Ambuscado of the *Spaniards*, who let the Forlorn all march within them, and then charged them both in Van and Flank. Capt. *Butler*, with the Van, undauntedly received the Charge, and in Order fired again, and all of them stood till he fell; but the Rear ran away without abiding a Charge, *Jackson* himself being the first Man, that turned his Back. *Venables's* Regiment (with *Ferguson* his Lieutenant-Colonel in the Head of them) being next, charged their Pikes on *Jackson*, and his flying Men; but they, being too well resolved to be so stopped, first routed that Regiment, and then most of Major-General *Haynes's* Regiment. These all came violently upon the Sea Regiment, which was led by *Venables* and *Goodson* (then Vice-Admiral), who with their Swords forced the Runaways into the Woods, choosing rather to kill than to be routed by them. At the same time, which was much to their Advantage, the Rear-part of *Haynes's* Regiment having opened, and drawn themselves on either Side into the Wood, counter-flanked the *Spaniards*, and charged their Ambuscados; which the *Spaniards* perceiving, and that the Sea Regiment advanced unrouted, retreated. The *English* then charged them afresh, pursued them, and beat them back beyond the Fort, and regained the Bodies of



the Slain, and the Place of Fight; which Ground they kept the rest of that Day, and the Night following, though the Guns from the Fort all that time, as well as during the Skirmish, played hotly upon them, and killed sometimes Eight or Nine at a Shoot.

In this Action the valiant *Haynes* and *Ferguson* before named, and such other Officers of those Regiments as knew not what it was to fly, fell by the Swords and Lances of the *Spaniards*, and many common Soldiers with them. The *English*, now about the Fort, *Venables* commanded to assault it; and that to that End they should play the Mortar piece against it; and had it drawn up for that Purpose. But he himself (being before brought very low with his Flux) the Toil of the Day had so far spent, that he could not stand or go, but as supported by Two; and in that manner he moved from Place to Place, to encourage the Men to stand, and to plant the Mortar-piece; but the latter he could not prevail for, either by Command, Intreaties, or Offers of Reward: At last, fainting among them, he was carried off; and *Fortescue*, who succeeded Major-General in the stead of *Haynes*, took the Command, who laboured much also to get the Mortar-piece planted, but without any Effect; for the Spirits of the *English* Soldiers were so sunk by their Want of Water and Provisions, and by the excessive Heat, and their great Weakness by both occasioned, that not any one upon any Account would be got to work to plant it. Night drawing on, while the Soldiers buried the Dead, they called a Council of War of all the Field-Officers: Where it was agreed (no one dissenting), that the Distress they were in for Want of Water was not to be striven with; that if they staid there, though they beat the Enemy, they must perish by Thirst: Whereupon it was unanimously resolved to retreat next Morning, if the Mortar-piece could not play before. The  
Morning

Morning came, and no Place found to plant the Mortar-piece, nor Men that would work, the Guns from the Fort beating them off from every Place, they buried their Shells, drew off their Mortar-piece, Drakes, Spades, &c. and, making a strong Rear-guard, retreated to their Ships at the Harbour. In this Attempt on the Fort the common Soldiers shewed themselves extremely heartless; if they followed their Officers to charge, they left them there to die, unless they were as nimble-footed as themselves: And, of all others, the Planters, whom they had raised in those Parts, were the worst, being only forward to do Mischiefe; Men so debauched, as not to be kept under Discipline; and so cowardly, as not to be made to fight.

Being come to the Harbour, they betook themselves to the Examination and Punishment of the Cowardice of some, and of divers Miscarriages and Disorders of others. *Jackson* was accused, 1. That, contrary to express Order, he had marched, without appointing any to search the Woods: 2. That he took but few Pikes, and those he placed in the Rear, as if he feared only his own Party: 3. That he put others in the Van, and himself brought up the Rear: 4. That he was the first Man that ran away; and, when there was a Stop, he opened his Way with both Hands to get foremost. These being proved before a Council of War, he was sentenced to be cashiered, his Sword broke over his Head, and he to be a Swabber, to keep the Hospital-Ship clean: Which was executed accordingly; and well it might; for sure it was much gentler than he deserved. A Serjeant also, who in the Skirmish threw down his Arms, crying, *Gentlemen, shift for yourselves; we are all lost*; and ran away; was hanged. Other Offences met with other Punishments.

Now



Now the Business was to consult what was next to be done. Commissioner *Winslow* came ashore to press for a Third Attempt; which the Officers of the Army would not be persuaded to undertake, all, with one Consent, refusing to lead on their Men; saying, they would never be got to march to that Place again; or, if they did, they would not follow them to a Charge: But the Officers freely offered to regiment themselves, and to live and die together. Whereupon the Commissioners, judging it needful to try to raise the Soldiers Spirits by Success in some smaller Enterprize, resolved to attempt some other Plantation; and, at last, *Jamaica* was fixed upon to be the Place.

During this Debate, the Soldiers at Land were in great Want and Streights; for their Provision was spent: Yet *Pen* forbade any Supply to be sent them from the Fleet: And their Scarcity, yea, Famine, grew so high, that they eat what Horses, Asses, and Dogs, were in the Camp; and some eat such poisonous Food, that Forty-six died of it at once. But, beyond all this, a Motion was made, that, setting Sail for *England*, the Soldiers (whom they of the Fleet usually called *Dogs*) should be left ashore to the Mercy of the Enemy: But *Venables*, who was more concerned for the Landmen, decried it with Detestation: Yet the Soldiers were so apprehensive of such a Trick, that, when they came to go aboard, their Officers would not suffer the Sea Regiment, which was on Shore, to be first shipped, lest they should be so left in the Lurch.

The Fifth Day after they set Sail from *Hispaniola*, they came before *Jamaica*: And now, remembering the Cowardice of the Soldiers (which, if not experienced, would scarce have been believed so great in *Englishmen*), they published an Order against Runaways, that the next Man to any  
that

that offered to run should kill him, or be tried for his own Life: Which done, *Pen* and *Venables* placed themselves in the *Martin* Gally, and made up to the Fort, and played upon it with their great Guns (as it did upon them) all the time that the Soldiers were getting into the flat-bottomed Boats; which so soon as they had done, a fresh Gale of Wind arose, which drove the Boats directly upon the Fort: Which the *Spaniards* seeing, and a Major, their best Soldier, being disabled by a Shot from the *Martin* Gally, they were so daunted, that they took to their Heels, and left the Fort to the *English*. The Army, finding fresh Water at this Fort (called *Caguaya*), and fearing to advance farther, lest (it being then Three o' Clock) they should, in a strange Country, and without Guides, be inconveniently overtaken with Night, in some Place where they might be more exposed to the Enemies Assaults, and beating up their Quarters, resolved to stay at that Fort and Landing-place that Night, and rest their weak and sick Men.

Next Morning they marched early; and, about Noon, came to a *Savanna* near the chief Town of the Island, called *St. Jago*, where Two or Three *Spaniards* appeared at Distance, making some Signals of Friendship. The like Number of *English* were sent to them: Upon which they rode away; but, making a Stand, One was sent out to know what they desired. They answered, A Treaty. The *English* replied, they would treat, when they saw any impowered thereunto. After some time, a Priest and a Major were sent from the Town. The *English*, as an Introduction to the Treaty, first demanded to have 100 Cows, with *Cassavia* Bread proportionably, sent them immediately; and so daily, while the Treaty lasted, Cows were sent them; but no Bread, that being, as they said, scarce with them: Whereupon, Commissioners being appointed on both Sides, they



they entered into Treaty; and, in Conclusion, the *Spaniards* yielded to render the Island, and all in it, and all Ships in the Havens, unto the *English*; the *Spaniards* and Inhabitants having their Lives granted them, and, such as would, Liberty by a certain Day to depart the Island; but to take nothing with them save their wearing Apparel, and their Books and Writings. Articles of Agreement to this Purpose were drawn, and signed on both Sides. The *English*, for true Performance, demanded, and had, the Governor of the Island, and the *Spanish* Commissioners, for Hostages; and so they seemed in a fair Way of Settlement here with little a-do: But yet, that they might have something adverse, a Colonel among the *Spaniards*, who had no Kindness for the Governor, and was a Man of Interest among the Commonalty, persuaded them to drive all the Cattle away, and thereby they should starve out the *English*: Which being understood, one of the *Spanish* Commissioners (Don *Acosta*, a *Portuguese*) sent his Priest, an understanding Negro, to them, to dissuade them from that Course: But they, being resolute, and put on by the Colonel, hanged the Priest. Upon which, *Acosta*, to be revenged on them for the Death of his Priest, whom he loved, advised the *English* how to recover the Cattle; telling them, they could not be kept long, but necessarily, in a while, must come down into the Plains to drink; where, Wait being laid, they might easily be surprised: And by his Counsel and Direction the *English* recovered the Cattle, and prevented their Design.

After this an Order was published, that no private Soldier should go out to shoot Cows: Which was done for Two Reasons: First, Because the Soldiers, straggling about for this Purpose, and going single, were oft knocked on the Head; and, next, Because they maimed and marred more  
than

than they killed : For, it being a very woody Country, unless a Beast was shot dead (which was but seldom done), it escaped its Pursuer, though it after died of its Wounds ; and many Hundreds were found dead in the Woods, that had been so slain ; and very many were seen running about hurt and wounded. And thus great Destruction was made of them to nobody's Advantage ; and, in the End, they must need have smarted for the Want of those, which had been thus lavishly spoiled and lost : Besides, the Cattle, which at their first coming were seen in great Numbers, and so tame, that they might have been easily managed, and driven up, were so affrighted by the Soldiers disorderly chasing and shooting after them, that they were now grown wild and untractable : And therefore, commanded Parties with their Officers were thenceforward ordered out to fetch in Cattle, as there was Need ; and, by that means, they were sufficiently supplied, and no Waste made.

But Bread they still much wanted ; for their own Storeships being not yet reached them, they had no Bread but what came from the Fleet ; whence it was very sparingly sent, and scarce any but what was bad and corrupt. I find it noted, that, in Seventeen Days time, they had but Three Biscuits a Man : That they could seldom get any thing from the Fleet, unless the Commissaries would sign Acquittances for greater Proportions than were indeed delivered : That, of above 100 Ton of Brandy, which was put on board in *England* for this Service, and above 30 Ton more taken in at *Barbados*, it could not be observed that the Land-men ever had 10 Ton to their Use, between the Middle of *April* and the Middle of *July* : And that, whereas they of the Fleet excused themselves as to Bread, pretending they had none to spare, there happening, a while after, a Ship (called the *Discovery*) to be set on



Fire in the Harbour by Carelessness, it was acknowledged by some that escaped from her, that 120 Ton of Biscuit was burnt in that Vessel. So that the Soldiers being put to feed wholly on fresh Flesh and Fruits, without either Brandy, or any kind of Bread, and that after they had been long at a scanty Diet upon salt Meat, Sickness hugely increased among them, insomuch that, after their coming to *Jamaica*, they died by Fifty, Sixty, and sometimes an Hundred, in a Week, of Fevers and Fluxes.

Their Streights and Distresses being great, put them on a Necessity of hastening to distribute the Soldiers to plant for themselves, that they might have somewhat of their own to subsist on, without depending on the Courtesy of others: And accordingly several of the Regiments were dispersed into several Places. But though such were their Occasions, each of them, for his particular private Goods and Necessaries, yet they could not, without much Difficulty, and many fruitless Labours, obtain to have their Trunks and Stuff ashore to them; and many never had them at all; but they were carried back with the Fleet into *England*.

Some Discontents grew among the chief of them. *Venables*, telling Commissioner *Butler* of his Drunkenness (which he was oft guilty of, and, in that Condition, had discovered too much to the *Spaniards*), and reproving him for it, made him his Enemy, and to practise against him: And thenceforwards he endeavoured to make Factions, and beget Disgusts in the Army. *Pen* gave Notice of his Intentions suddenly to set Sail for *England*; and would not be dissuaded or diverted from that his Purpose, tho' it was urged to him, that it was contrary both to the Promise made to the Land-Forces in *England*, that this Fleet should not leave them till a new one came to them; and also contrary to the Engagement mutually made between him and *Venables*, not to desert

or forsake each other. Now *Pen* having, at the Beginning, put on *Pool*, his Nephew, to take the Invoices of the Prizes which should be seized, before he went away, sent a Commission to *Venables*, dated in *December* before, to authorize *Pool* to take Charge of the Prizes, &c. and with it a Warrant (dated at the present time) to remove him from that Place, importing also a general Discharge and Acquittal of him, desiring *Venables* to sign them both. As to the former, *Venables* remembred *Pen*, that he and Commissioner *Butler* had offered to join with him in it, when *Pool* was first placed in that Office, that so he might have acted by joint Commission from all, and have been inspected by all; and *Pen* then refused them, affirming he had Power to do it himself. The latter *Venables* declared he would not sign, unless there was first an Auditor appointed to take and examine *Pool's* Accounts: For (to add this by the way) I find it remarked, that the Accounts of the Prizes were Secrets to the Land-Officers; that they never had the original Invoices thereof shewed to them; that One Invoice being once by chance dropped, a Land-Officer took it up, and observed the Number of Elephants Teeth in it to be 391; but afterwards the Copy made thereof had only 150 Teeth: The Officer then said (and offered to make Oath), that the Invoice itself he had seen, which, he well remembred, had 391 Teeth in it: Yet neither he, nor any other of them, could ever prevail more to see it, or to have any Copy made of it to be above 191, or any more brought to public Account. But however Commissioner *Butler* signed both *Pool's* Commission, and Warrant of Discharge, without either Examination or Scruple; and also joined with *Pen* in selling some Ships, which were very fit, and would have been needful enough, for the Service of those Parts; and, 'twas said, they were



fold to pay off some public Debts: For which Purpose also it was moved, to have had some Deductions made out of the Landmens Pay: But *Venables* would not yield to this, nor meddle with the other; alleging that there were Prizes sufficient, if truly accounted for, to discharge all. Some of these Ships some Officers of the Fleet bought, and laded them to *Virginia*, whither *Pen* also laded the *Catharine* (a Ship of 500 Ton, and 30 Guns, and given him by the Powers in being, with all her Ordnance, Sails, and Tackle): But where the Freight of these Ships was had, was not so easily known; for it was not observed, that they, who laded these Vessels, had bought or taken in any private Goods at *Barbados*, *St. Christophers*, *Hispaniola*, or *Jamaica*; and they had not touched at any other Place after they came from *England*.

*Venables's* Flux and Weakness increasing upon him, a Design was set on Foot (chiefly by Commissioner *Butler* and Colonel *Buller*) to get the Officers to join to put him upon returning to *England*, to represent there their ill Condition: And accordingly, at a Council of Officers held in his Absence, it was propounded, and voted, that they would desire him so to do, and to take the Opportunity of going in the Fleet with *Pen*; and that *Buller* should accompany him; which *Buller* was fond enough of, thinking the other would scarce live to get home, and then he should be the only Man. The Officers also proceeded to form and draw up some Considerations, which they desired might be represented in *England*; and all signed them. This being signified to *Venables*, he did not much hearken thereto, hoping yet to overcome his Distemper, and to be able to stay and see them settled himself: But his Weakness grew upon him so much, that he left the Command of the Army to *Fortescue* (who was now Major-General), and, in a while, was forced

to take his Bed; and at last, despairing of Life, sent to the Commissioners to come to the opening a dormant Commission; which had an Indorsement, that it should not be opened, but on the Death, Disability, or Absence, of both or one of the Generals: And, when it was opened, the Purport of it was, that, if such a Case happened as the Indorsement supposed, the Commissioners, or Two of them, should choose and appoint others to succeed them: And, pursuant thereunto, *Goodson* was pitched on to succeed *Pen*, and *Fortescue* to be instead of *Venables*.

Soon after this, *Venables* falling into a Delirium, *Pen* left him, and set sail for *England*; and, when *Venables* had continued a Month delirious, his Friends carried him, in that Condition, a Ship-board; and, after he had been some time at Sea, he came to himself, and recovered.

*Fortescue*, the mean while, took the Command of the Army, and appointed a general Rendezvous, at which were mustered above 5000 Men. And here I may note, by the way, that this Muster was not taken till after they had been Ten or Twelve Weeks ashore at *Jamaica*, and had lost very many Men by Sickness, both there and at *Hispaniola*, as some have reported: For their highest Muster, that I can find they at any time had, reached not to more than 6551 Men.

How the Miscarriage of this Action was charged upon *Venables*, and he, at his Arrival in *England*, sent to the *Tower*, but never brought to any Hearing, where he might have made his Defence; and how, after his lying there for some time a close Prisoner, he was at last set at Liberty, and nothing said to him; I shall not trouble you or myself to inquire or relate: For, having done the Business I first designed, *viz.* to give you a plain Narrative of the Voyage, I leave it to you to make use of, and remain

*Tours, &c.*



S I R,

I Herewith send you a very curious and strong Letter; which I think an Original, and never saw in Print. It has been affirmed to be written by Sir *Thomas Bodley* to the King. I am

*Tours, &c.*

*P.S.* It was procured from the Manuscripts of Mr. *John Hardisty*.

*A short Discourse of the principal Commodities and Supports of your Majesty's Dominions, with some prejudicial Defects in the Commonweal: Wherein is proved and projected, that your Majesty and the Subject annually expend Two hundred thousand Pounds at the least on One only Commodity; which may not only be saved, but a far greater Sum clearly gained into your Majesty's Coffers.*

YOUR Majesty's Commodities and Profits of these your Highness's Kingdoms (in few Words) may be intimated out of *Jacob's Sons* Answer unto *Pharaoh*: *Thy Servants are Herdsmen, and Tillers of the Ground.* Your Majesty's Subjects are no other: For out of the Genus of Husbandry are produced the several Species, and the native Riches of the Subject, with the Glory and Strength of your Person and State: And whatsoever else of Importation comes from the Stranger, is more of Petulancy than Necessity; your Majesty's Kingdoms may very well subsist without it. In brief, your Majesty's native Profits have only a respect *ad*  
*victum*

*victum et vestitum*; and are no other, in the Bulk, than the Abundance of Grain, and the Superfluity of Wools and Breed, the Ingrediency of our Food, and the Materials of our Raiment: And with this, did not our natural Ambition overway and transport us beyond the Limits of Sufficiency, we might and ought to be content,

In the Abundance of Food of this your Majesty's Kingdom (which is an inexhaustible Treasure, and was of old one of the Magazines of *Europe*) your Majesty's Might and Power consists: By this you are enabled to breed and feed Men. Tillage was the Trade of the old *Britons*: The great *Cæsar* had, divers times, large Supplies of Grain from the antient Natives: *His Cæsar imperat obsides quadraginta frumentumque exercitui*: And therefore, that Prince which hath a rich compacted Granary, with Store of Men to defend it, is of more Force than he that possesseth large and distracted Territories, and hath Scarcity of People to keep them; as the Comparison may not impertinently be made between your Majesty and his Majesty of *Spain*.

To this Purpose (and it was a main Policy of your Progenitors) were the old Laws enacted, which tended to the Preservation of Tillage and Breeding: And although, in my poor Observation of old Acts and Laws of that Nature, there fell out much Repugnancy, even in the Laws themselves; as *one Age*, aiming at Sheep, and Growth of Wool, have enacted to that Purpose; *another Age*, deeming an Overbalance in the Increase of Sheep, enacted for the Increase of Tillage, and depressing of the Over-multiplication of Sheep: So that there appeared, in former times, a kind of Competition for Pre-eminence between the Food and the Raiment of the Kingdom. Howsoever, both these Purposes (though Contraries) have so well accorded, that no great Detriment hath at any time befallen  
the



the State of the Commonwealth, or hath hindered the public Good: For both of these were so commodious to the State, that the Question, it seems, grew not of their Utility, but which of the Two (either Sheep or Tillage) might be chiefly respected.

But, before I come to touch on any Defect, I pass on to the Second Pillar or Support of the Kingdom, the Matter of our Raiment, the *Wools*; in the Production whereof antient Times have left us so large Testimony, that the old Natives have been therein very industrious, as in the main Matter of their Exportation, whereby they drew much from the Foreigner; only they were, not without good Cause, taxed of Dulness, and want of Ingenuity: For, before *Edward* the Third's time, they were for the most part ignorant in the Manufacture of Cloths, which, by that noble and victorious Prince, was got from the Foreigner. For, although the Subject had then the Materials of their *Cloaths*, together with that plentiful Measure of their *Food*, yet was that great Superfluity of their Wools generally transported and sold to the Stranger; and none, or very little Cloth was in those times made in *England*: So that the *Dutch* in former Times had a scornful Proverb, *That they could buy the Fox-skin of an Englishman for Four-pence, and could sell the Tail to him again for Twelve-pence*: And it was true: For they bought up the Wools of the whole Kingdom (as having, through many Ages, been Masters of the Manufacture) at their own Prices, converted them into Cloth, and re-sold it to the *English* at their own Rates.

*Edward*, who was a Prince of Reach and Courage, disdained to be abused by those that drew their principal Profits from out of his Kingdom; and, diving into the Secret and Benefit of the Manufacture, partly to cry quit, and to bridle the Insolence of the *Dutch*, and partly to relieve his poor People,

People, made Stoppage of his Wools, enforced his Subjects to drape, and to make their own Wools into Cloth, and then to sell the Overplus to the Foreigner.

This Course of the King's (being in the Nature of an Innovation) encountered with divers Impediments: For the *Subject* being then ignorant in the Manufacture, and the *Stranger* refractory, refused to buy that in another Nature which he could not be without. The Conclusion was, The *Fleming* had sundry Treaties with the King and the Council touching the Removal of his Staple, Stoppage of his Wools, and buying of the Cloth; whereby they delayed, deluded, and wrought upon the King's and the Subjects Necessities, on whose Hands a great Quantity of their new Cloth then lay unvented: Which caused the King in Choler to burn a great Quantity thereof in Sight of the Stranger. This Art of the King's converted their Stubbornness into Amazement. The Upshot was, *Edward* gave Leave unto the *Flemings*, which were skilled in the Manufacture, to come over into his Dominions, and to enjoy the Benefit of free Denizens; whereby, in few Years, he not only gained the full Benefit, and the whole Manufacture, of his Wools for his poorest People, but exceedingly enriched the better Sort of his Subjects; the Effects whereof we enjoy to this Day.

Out of these Promises it is considerable how the poorer Sort (before *Edward's* Reign) subsisted without the Manufacture of their own Wools, inasmuch as common Experience teacheth, that, on the least want of Vent of Cloth, that great Body of poor People, which swarmeth throughout your Dominions, and who, for the most part, *eat the Bread of Carefulness* out of the Manufacture of the Wools, are ready to starve or mutiny: Wherein appeareth some evident Defect of State, or Want of due Provision to employ the



meaner Sort on all necessitous Occasions, as on Dearth, and Damps of Trade: And this Defect is made the more manifest by comparing, or setting Side by Side, the Condition of your Majesty's poor People, with the State of the poorer Sort in the *Low Countries*, where every Person is seen to earn his Living, none to beg his Bread: For, from the Example of the *Lacedemonians*, they suffer no unprofitable Person in their Commonweal, that is not disabled either by Age or Impotency; which are *truly the Poor*, and to whom our Charity should be extended; not upon the Vagabond and Impostor, which is a miserable Creature all the Day on your Majesty's Highway, but at Night a rank and stout Rogue.

But, before I descend to the Remedy of this Defect, which is Want of Employment for such as would work, and Want of Government in not compelling the Idle, and such as whose Trade is Travel, and mastering the Highways, if their Party light on fitting Occasion; I will humbly present unto your Majesty the Opinions of divers knowing Persons, who argue against the new Plantations, and late Undertakings; wherein, they say, we overlook the Domestic, by casting our Sight beyond our Kenning, and lose the *Bone* by chopping at the *Shadow*: That, in this Course of Adventure, not a few of your Subjects have perished, and not a little of the Treasure of the same hath been exhausted, to the weakening of your Majesty (as they suppose). And this their Opinion is seconded with prevalent Reasons: For, they say, your Majesty's Countries at home are not much more than half peopled, nor so sufficiently stocked as they may be: That most Part of the North, *Ireland*, the Principality, and divers other Parts of your Dominions, want Manurance and Improvement; which, by ordinary Expence, and no great Industry, would be mightily enriched: That a *Dutchman*, by the Manurance of *One Acre* of Ground, lives plentifully; and an  
*Englishman*,

*Englistman*, by his *Slothfulness*, turns Beggar in the Possession of *One Hundred*. Again, they say, as these Undertakings favour of Honour and Reputation, yet, on due Examination, they are but Arguments of our Levity and Inconstancy; and that the Conceit of disburdening your superfluous People, as though our Hives were great with Swarming, favours more of Chimera than of Judgment; for that your Majesty wants People more than Land; Constancy, Industry, and Ingenuity, more than Men: That the Fortifying and Manuring of this Kingdom, and *Ireland*, are the true Ways of enriching and strengthening your Majesty, not the far-sought and needless fetching and planting of Tobacco and Drugs in and from *Virginia*, *St. Christopher's*, *Nova Francia*, and the rest; which, although they promise some Advantage to your Majesty's Customs in time to come, doth, in the present, impoverish, effeminate, and blunt, the Subject at home: And, in the general, they conclude, that the Expence of your remote Adventures, employed in Manurance at home, is a safe and a more beneficial Course than any of the new.

These are Disputes, which I conceive fit for your Majesty's Consideration; but far distant from my Purpose: Yet, if your Majesty will be graciously pleased to take an Essay of my Experience in the way of Improvement, be it in any of your Parks, or Parts of them, which are most sterile, I am confident to double, if not treble, the worst and most barren Part. I am the bolder to inlarge my Digression in this Point; for that, if your Majesty begin to play the Husband, and to dive into our Mother Earth, your Kingdom will follow you:

*Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis:*

And the Charge shall not be great, if your Highness please to try the Conclusion in an Outside of any of your Parks:



Your Majesty, by God's Favour, shall behold the Fruit of your Labour within the Year. And I would in this, or any other, serve your Majesty very cheap; for my Desire is, that your Majesty might have the full Honour of beginning to your People: And although the Way be open, and in common Experience, yet it is no where driven home, and in that enriching Course which it may take on timely Observation, and such Conclusions which I have essayed on several Molds.

But I proceed to the Purpose intended: Which is, the fruitless Expence of 200,000 Pounds, at the least, paid over to the Stranger for Linen Cloth, another Species, and a great Part, of our Raiment; and so will briefly pass on to shew your Majesty, that, by virtue of One Law now in Force, though neglected, and, in outward Shew, of so little Consequence, that your Majesty may think it a Recreation of the Parliament of those Times more than a deliberate Advice; yet is your Majesty enabled thereby to make a present Levy (and that, as I conceive, as it may be handled, without Noise or Grudge) of 300,000 Pounds. Now, that the Disbursements of your Majesty for Sails and Cordage for the Navy Royal, and of your Subjects for their Linen Cloth, will not amount to the prescribed Sum, will not be a Point disputable; for, I think, a far greater Sum is yearly expended in those Commodities. And as for the Feasibleness of saving the said Sum, with the gaining of a treble Sum to your Majesty, both these likewise will be of no difficult Effect, if your Majesty please to make use of your Power: For, 24 *H. VIII.* and *Quinto* of the late Queen, it was enacted, that all Persons, having Sixty Acres of Land fit for Tillage, should, on the Penalty of Five Pounds, sow yearly One Acre thereof with Hemp or Flax. The Parliament in those Times, without Doubt, had some provident Reach to save this vast Sum annually expended on  
Linen.

Linen Cloth, and to wear that of their own growing: But whether they did then penetrate or dive into the beneficial Effect of their own Law, and that which it would now produce, were it re-enforced, I dare not dispute: But, howsoever this petty Law seemeth of little Importance, yet would it be of wonderful Consequence, as well for the enriching of the better Subjects, as for the gaining of the Linen Manufacture for the Poor, as your noble Progenitor drew in that of the Woolen; which, in every Part and Creek of the Kingdom, will of Necessity employ all the idle People; which is a Care not to be despised, inasmuch as the great Poverty of your People mightily waxeth, and groweth fearful to all good Men, through the Idleness of People left unto themselves to do as they please: Which, without a timely Prevention, will plunge the State into a cureless Condition.

I come now to touch on the Defect of the former Law for sowing of Hemp and Flax; which is, that the State did then forget to prohibit the running in of the Strangers Linen; whereby there remained an Inlet of the Foreigners Vent and Profit, to the Prejudice of the intended Effect: As also that Law, together with many more of older, and of these Times, have had the ill Fortune to light on Times or Persons of no Execution: For it was a full Saying of your Majesty's Royal Progenitor in Parliament, That we wanted not Laws, but Execution. But, if your Majesty shall be pleased to observe what *Normandy* alone doth gain by this only Commodity of Linen Cloth, it will give you very good Encouragement to re-enforce a Law, which will not only have the Treasure of the same, but mightily enrich your better Subjects, and gain a sure Employment for your poor People. If therefore your Majesty please to relish these poor Conceptions, it will be requisite that you prohibit, by your Royal Pro-



Proclamation, all foreign Cloth, except some Reservations of Holland, Lawns, and Cambricks, which, whether these our Vegetables will yield or not, I dare not aver; although, I presume, Time and Experience may produce much: Which being done with a Re-enforcement of the former Act, and taking the Whole, or Part, of the Penalty (which amounteth to Two Subsidies in the Moiety), would undoubtedly work a strange Change in the State.

As for taking the Advantage of the Penalty, I acknowledge it hath some Affinity with *Empson* and *Dudley's* Plot in the latter End of *Henry* the Seventh, who advised the King, without Respect to any, to take the Penalty of all the Laws: Which was accordingly put in Execution, to the great Grievance of the People, although the King's Coffers were then the richest in Christendom. But, in that Case, if it be handsomely carried, by a fitting Declaration, to the Business intended, it may very well pass, without either the Grievance or Insight of the People. And to this End, together with the Project, I have hereunto annexed the Tenor of such a Proclamation as might suit to the Intent; not out of Sauciness to direct, but humbly to submit it to your Majesty's farther Consideration and Correction: For, may it please your Highness, were there in this no other Matter intended than the Manufacture for the Employment of your most miserable poor Subjects, this poor silly-seeming Law of Hemp and Flax is very well worthy of Regard and Re-enforcement, omitting the Advantage, which reflecteth in your Majesty's Election, the saving of your Purse in your Sails and Cordage, and the Subjects for their Linen, which, within Two Years, they may have of their own, and as useful as any is in *Europe*.

To this Re-enforcement, it would be very furthering in the Ease of the Poor, that your Majesty gave new Spirit to  
the

the late Laws against Drunkenness, and that of the Queen's against wandering Rogues and Beggars, that so none should be seen in the Highways; the able Persons to be set to Labour, and the impotent to be maintained in the Places of their Birth: For your Laws have some Resemblance with *Wonders*; which amaze and strike a Terror for a while, but lose their Force, and quail, by a little Time and Connivancy. I will omit the general Observation in the Impair and Decay of the Gentry throughout the Kingdom, thro' their Excess: But this is a wretched Poverty, habituated by Idleness, where-with we have to do; wherein your Majesty's Justices, in most of the Counties of the Kingdom, are very much to blame, and too remiss in the Execution of the Laws; for they having your Majesty's Laws retailed unto them, it resteth in their Discretion to reform much of this Disorder.

Now, that I may not molest your Majesty with superfluous Inlargements, I will present you with the Sum and Scope of this little Fragment. The Riches, Glory, and Reputation of this Kingdom consisteth, as I have said, in the Abundance of Meat and Cloathing: And it was the Commendation of the *Land of Promise*, that it flowed with Milk and Honey. Your Majesty's Dominions exceed the Plenty of *Canaan*. From those Two proceed the Support of your whole State, and the Aid of your Confederates: Your Food is abounding, and, with some Additions of no great Charge, may be made more abundant; which, although the Demonstration of them would not be exceeding tedious, yet I forbear to present it here in Theory, as hoping to give your Majesty better Content and Pleasure in shewing it unto you by the Practic. Your Cloathing is also, as I have already intimated, defective principally in your Linen: And this also may, with great Facility and Profit to the Public, be amended.



amended. The Way, as compendiously as the Subject, and my Capacity, will admit, I have prescribed. If ever your Majesty will be assured of the Effect, you must take the Penalty in Whole or in Part: It will relieve your Wants; and, in future, will move your Subjects to a greater Awfulness of your sacred Person, and to a better Observance of your Laws. It is but One Penalty; and it will necessarily light on landed Men, without Touch on a mean Person (as often your Subsidies do). The levying of it once will, in One Year, enforce the Grower to get it again with Advantage; for it is a Vegetable of Profit, were it once on Foot. *Henry* the Seventh ventured on all the Penalties: His Coffers were full; your Majesty's exhausted: The Ground of *this* is a Point of State and Profit, and, in future, will enrich the Subject; *his* a Strain unnecessitated. It is a Law not of your Majesty's, nor of your immediate Ancestor's, but of another Reign; and it maketh for the poor distressed People of your Kingdom; for that the working thereof is of a busy and contiguous Nature, such as yieldeth an everlasting Employment, and extendeth to set as well the Aged as the very Child to Labour, and to do something therein.

In your Majesty's Dominion of *England* and *Wales* there are 8000 and odd Parishes: Deducting 1000, which may be allowed for Cities and Towns, there remains 7000 liable to the Penalty. Admit then, that, one with the other, 50 *l.* may be levied in each Parish; which, for *tuning of their Bells*, or some other *trivial Cause*, they often disburse for their Pleasure: Let them pay this for their Profit, and your Majesty's Honour: 7050 *l.* ariseth to 350,000 *l.* If the Sum seem vast in the Gross, it doth not so in the Particular.

If it be objected, that it is inglorious and dishonourable; and that the State of your Majesty's Particular is reduced to

a very low Ebb, to be driven on the Advantage of penal Statutes; the Answer will be, A *Parliament engaged* your Majesty, and a *Parliament* gives you *Means* to *disengage* yourself; and that *other Reigns* have ventured on many more *grieving*, none on so *profitable* a Project, and on more warrantable Terms.

God forbid I should project any thing which might justly cast your Majesty into the Obloquy of your People! although *mobile Vulgus* has not been their Stile for nought: But it is utterly against Reason to admit *that* for a Grievance, which, by Project, and the very Act of Parliament itself, was both made a Law, and the Mulct thereof bequeathed to the King of the Realm: And it is absurd for any Man's Sense and Belief to admit, that the Parliaments, in all Convocations, shall enact Laws, and thereon Penalties to be recovered by the King; and, if he shall accept of their own Grants, shall presently be accounted burdensome to his People: For, surely, I am bold to affirm, that there hath not been a greater Prejudice to the Government of these Kingdoms, through many Reigns, than the making of Laws with Penalties, which, by Connivancy, within One Year, fall from the Purpose and Intent of their making, and utterly lose their Vigour and Virtue, over and above the intrenching on the Prerogative of the Prince, to whom all the Mulcts are given, and without Grudge cannot receive them; but must look on them as a *Noli me tangere*.

I will not trouble your Majesty with any prolix Catalogue of such things which your Predecessors have done on just and necessitated Grounds, or what some of them would do, without Examination either of the Justness or Fitness; as those of the Blank Charters, taking of Fifths, and some others, which doubtless were offensive to God, the People, and, in



fine, to the Undertakers; for that they were wholly unjust: But if your Majesty please to cast your Eye on some modern Enterprizes of a lawful Strain, as on the Dissolution of the religious Houses, the Seizure of Asserts, the Resuming of the Duchy Lands sold on valuable Consideration; all which were taken for Grievances by the Subject, who generally is clamorous without sufficient Ground; although the Things themselves, on the opening of the Causes, appeared to be necessary, and to be justly done; then may your Majesty see, that this Proposition is not so fearful, nor so difficult, as it may seem, being backed with Law, and necessitated to be put in Execution, as well for the Subjects future Benefit as your Majesty's present; of the which all wise and good Subjects should be tenderly compassionate, when they shall behold a frugal Prince incumbered with Burdens properly none of his own.

It may be objected, that the late Queen attempted none of these Ways, nor ventured on any Novelty, more than on the Sums by Privy-Seal, most of which she repaid; and thereby kept her Credit, and increased her Reputation: As also that she was so thriftily given, as that, out of her own, in very short time, she paid the Debts of her Father and Brother, which lay a long time loaded with Interest. It is true, she compassed much, and underwent great Burdens: Yet had she handsome Ways and Means to bring her Ends to her Beck; for she raised few Persons out of the Dust, neither had she many overchargeable Servants. She carried always an open Ear to her Profits, and Improvements of her Revenue; and she would attentively listen to such as could, without Clamour, inform her of Purloining and Cosenage; whereby she deterred her Great Officers from taking without her Privy. And, as she had much to do, so had she the Fortune to pass through many Streights; and therewithal was not without  
good

good Helps: She had the Faculty of Applause and Popularity; and, above all her Progenitors, had the right Daps\* of her Parliaments. Be it far from me to wish it otherwise to your Sacred Person, than that you may truly enjoy the Hearts and Love of your People, and to accord with your Parliaments in all reasonable things; which hath been the sure Stay and Relief of the Kings of this Land.

But, considering the old Debts left on your Majesty, and that these late unhappy Distractions of your Parliaments may promise in the future little Relief unto your Highness; in my simple Opinion, this Business will best besit the Times, and your Occasions: For it will instruct your future Parliaments, that they burden not themselves with Laws and Penalties, which shall only stand for States, as though your Majesty were bound to stand Cypher, and not to take the Advantage of their Laws and Breaches. Besides, your Majesty, in taking of this, shall be assured of a contrary Operation in your Parliaments to come, and clean contrary to common Expectation, whensoever you please to summon them: For that, when they shall perceive your Majesty, out of the Necessity of your Condition (supposing the taking of this only rested on that Point), have begun on one Advantage, should they prove repugnant and obdurate in the Relief of such Wants as may necessarily befall your Highness in the future, it will cause them to give you reasonable Aid, rather than to enforce you on the Point of your Power and Prerogative to venture farther on the Penalties.

These poor Conceptions, in the Sincerity of an humble Heart, I both present and submit to your Highness, most humbly craving, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to interpret them, as the good Meaning of him, that shall

\* Sic Orig.



never cease to pray for your Majesty's Prosperity, and to serve faithfully your Highness, and my Country, in what I may.

The Scope of the Proclamation, which I have thought fit and suitable to the Project, I have hereafter inserted; and so do prostrate both this, and myself, at your Highness's Feet.

*Your Majesty's most humble Servant.*

*\* I approve not of all Parts of this following Proclamation.*

“ **Forasmuch** as we are now credibly given to understand,  
 “ by the Informations of divers of our trusty, knowing, and  
 “ loving Subjects, that the annual Expence issued and disbursed  
 “ for all sorts of Linen-cloth, used and worn throughout our  
 “ Dominions, amounteth to Two hundred thousand Pounds  
 “ at the least; and that our Canvasses and Cordage, for the  
 “ Use of our Royal Navy, doth likewise draw yearly out of  
 “ our Coffers a very great Sum of Money; all which Sums  
 “ are wholly received by Strangers and Aliens; whereby the  
 “ Treasure of these our Dominions is, and hath been, much  
 “ diminished, to the great and general Decay of trading,  
 “ and to the Prejudice of our own Royal Particular: We  
 “ therefore, by the Advice and Deliberation of our Privy-  
 “ Council, having maturely considered, and dived into, the  
 “ Causes of the Idleness and Poverty of our People, in many  
 “ Parts of our Kingdoms, through Want of Employment,  
 “ Decay of Trades and Manufactures of several Natures; and  
 “ finding the great Cause thereof consisteth in the Neglect  
 “ and Disregard of such of our Laws and Statutes, which, in  
 “ Prevention of the former Mischiefs and Expence, have  
 “ been enacted by our late Predecessor of famous Memory,  
 “ Queen *Elizabeth*, with the Consent of Parliament, in  
 “ the

\* This was in another Hand in the Manuscript.

“ the first Year of her Reign, for the sowing of Hemp and  
“ Flax throughout these our Dominions, the said Law  
“ having been heretofore declared profitable to the public  
“ Good of this Kingdom, by her Royal Proclamation, ac-  
“ cording to the Tenor of the said Statute; and yet our  
“ Subjects, both in this, as in many other of our Laws, have  
“ grown so remiss and careless in the Observance thereof,  
“ to the great Damage of our Kingdom, that we are now  
“ enforced to remedy the same. In which Statute, we can-  
“ not but admire the great Wisdom and Providence of the  
“ State in those Times, whose Aim it was thereby not only  
“ to save and cut off so vast an Expence, yearly paid over to the  
“ Stranger for Commodities, which, with common Industry,  
“ we might have of our own, but wholly to ingross (to the  
“ great Benefit of our People) the Growing and Manufacture  
“ of Sails, Cordage, and Linen-cloths, unto ourselves.  
“ We therefore, having duly considered of the Premises,  
“ by the deliberate Advice of our Council of State, and  
“ for the future Good of all our Subjects, have resolved  
“ to re-enforce the said Statute so neglected, and to give it  
“ the Life of our regal Power; commanding all our loving  
“ Subjects, throughout these our Dominions of *England* and  
“ *Wales*, fully and without Delay to put the said Statute  
“ in Execution, according to the full Intent and Meaning  
“ thereof; it being of great Consequence, and tending to  
“ divers profitable Effects, more than hitherto within the  
“ Reach of common Capacities.

“ And, to the end, that the foresaid Statute may be  
“ henceforth with more Care put in Execution, for the  
“ Benefit of our Kingdoms, we have therefore given strict  
“ Command to every of our High Sheriffs throughout our  
“ Dominions, with some special Gentlemen of each County  
“ joined



“ joined in Commission with the Sheriffs, to levy through-  
“ out every County the Penalty of One Year’s Forfeiture  
“ allotted by the said Statute; *viz.* on every Person which  
“ hath Sixty Acres of Land (fit for Tillage), and shall not be  
“ found to have One *Winchester* Acre sown with Hemp or  
“ Flax at the Time of the Date of this our Royal Declaration.  
“ Notwithstanding, it is our Will and Pleasure, That if our  
“ Sheriffs, and such Persons in this Case deputed, shall find  
“ any impoverished Person on the publishing of this our  
“ Proclamation, to have the Half, or One Quarter, of the  
“ Acre sown with either of the said Vegetables, that then they  
“ shall not levy on such Persons the said Penalty; provided  
“ that such Person, for the time to come shall, sow the full  
“ Quantity of Land, as in and by the said Statute is  
“ ordained.

“ And further, by this our Royal Declaration, and out of  
“ our proper and mere Motion, we give all our loving and  
“ dutiful Subjects to understand, that we intend not to take  
“ any other or further Benefit, either by this or any other  
“ Penalty whatsoever, unless they shall provoke us by their  
“ Disobedience, or crossing of these our just, lawful, and ne-  
“ cessitated Designs; we having ever been conscientiously  
“ careful how we might avoid, not only the Oppression,  
“ but the very Grievance of our People (notwithstanding  
“ the Necessity of our Affairs); this our Purpose being in-  
“ forced upon us, for the full effecting of our Royal Intent  
“ of enriching and employing our People throughout our  
“ Kingdoms, and to no other End, than to enforce and give  
“ Life to this Statute; thereby, as we have declared, to save  
“ our Treasure, enrich our Subjects, and to gain a Manu-  
“ facture for the full Employment of our poor People,  
“ whose

“ whose miserable Condition we, out of our princely Care  
 “ and Compassion, have taken into special Consideration.  
 “ And we further declare, by this our Proclamation, the  
 “ Displeasure which we take, on the Breach and Neglect of  
 “ divers other of our late Laws (which tends to the Ruin of  
 “ our People, and the crossing of our pious and royal Purpose)  
 “ against Drunkenness, Alehouse-haunting, vagrant Beggars,  
 “ Profanation, and Sabbath-breaking, with the Connivance  
 “ of some of our principal Officers, in every of our Counties,  
 “ in the due Execution of these our Laws. Wherefore we  
 “ are fully resolved to call our Ministers and Justices of all  
 “ our Counties to a strict Account for these their Neglects of  
 “ us, our State and Government; willing all our Ministers  
 “ whatsoever, that have, by virtue of their Places, any Part  
 “ of our Power committed unto them, henceforth to look to  
 “ their Charges; for we intend, by God’s gracious Assistance,  
 “ hereafter more narrowly to attend the Service of God,  
 “ the Increase of our Honour, the Good and Profit of our  
 “ People, with the general Reformation of the Neglect and  
 “ Non-observance of our Laws.

“ And further, by this our Proclamation, we do henceforth  
 “ prohibit, that after the Expiration of One whole Year,  
 “ following the Date of this, our Pleasure is, that no Mer-  
 “ chant, or any of our Subjects whatsoever, shall from  
 “ thenceforth bring from beyond the Seas any sort of Linen-  
 “ cloth, Sails, Cordage, Hemp, or Flax, upon the Penalty and  
 “ Forfeiture of all such Goods, and the perpetual Imprison-  
 “ ment of the Offenders; except some Quantity of Lawns,  
 “ Hollands, and Cambricks, as by our further Pleasure shall be  
 “ limited. For that it is our Royal Will, and full Purpose,  
 “ having the Opportunity of so much and adapted Land,  
 “ through-



" throughout our Dominions, for the bearing and producing  
 " of the said Vegetables, to supply the richer sort of our  
 " Subjects by their Industry, and our Poor by the  
 " Labour incident unto the Manufacture; as also to erect, in  
 " divers Parts of our Kingdom, certain Store-houses and  
 " Magazines for Cablage and Sails, thereby to fit the  
 " Merchant, and our Royal Navy, as also to compel all our  
 " idle People to labour, now ready to starve in many Parts  
 " of our Kingdom, and therewithal to clear all Parts of our  
 " Dominion of all wandering Rogues and Beggars, which  
 " wait on all Occasions of Mischief, in the Highways, under  
 " Colour of craving the Charity of our People; and to re-  
 " duce all impotent Persons to their Parishes, to be maintained  
 " according to the Statutes of our Realm."

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*A Letter from Sir Thomas Lake, Secretary of State.*

*My very good Lord,*

I Thought it fit for his Majesty's Service, that some Account should be made unto him, of our Proceedings in the Matter of *the Cloth*, since his Departure; because I do find it, from mine own Opinion, more and more perplexed.

At *Hampton-court*, before his Majesty's Going, it may please him to remember, that the Resolution there taken was, that after the Merchants had agreed to take away the Stand of Cloth till *Christmas*, that it concerned his Honour, that the *Hollanders* should somewhat feel his Power, and Means to distress them; and, for that Purpose, that the Merchants should call away all their Cloth, now in the *United Provinces*;

Provinces; and by Proclamation, a Prohibition should go forth, for any more Cloth to be carried to those Parts: And accordingly, after their Lordships coming to *London* on *Wednesday*, they met, and acquainted the Merchants with this Purpose of his Majesty, and they took time to give their Lordships Answer till *Friday*, they being, as they said, but a few, and not able to bind the whole Company, which must be done by a Court. So Yesterday they came, and *Alderman Cockaine*, in the Name of the rest, delivered, That although, at the Court, the greater Part did by Voice carry it, that the Trade should be removed, and that Cloth now there, presently be sett away; yet there were so many great Traders of the contrary Mind, as he could not but desire, that their Reasons might be heard and weighed by their Lordships, before they took any Resolution.

*The Reasons* (whereof I send your Lordship a Copy) were ready brought in Writing; and, being opened, we find them to proceed from two sorts of Men; some that deal in mingled coloured Cloths, which is confessed to be a great Trade, and which hath his full Manufacture of dressing and dying, before it go from hence: These say, that they find from *Middleburgh*, notwithstanding the Opposition of the *Hollanders*, reasonable Vent, both among the Soldiers in their Pay, and especially up to *Antwerp* for the Soldiers in the Archduke's Pay, and cannot have the like Vent from any other Place; and if it be prohibited them, the Trade will fall into the Hand of Strangers, who may carry that kind of Cloth from hence, and will carry it wholly into the Archduke's Territories: The other sort of Opposers was, of those who dealt in fine Cloths, whereof, they say, there is no Vent in *Germany*, and must be sold either in the *United Provinces*, or in the Archduke's Countries, where they cannot expect any sud-



den Settling, if they should remove. And so these two sorts desire to stay the Success of the Treaty now in Hand with their Deputies, who are already with the States. And these are, although the fewer in Number, yet, by Confession of the whole Company, the greatest in Trade.

This Distraction appearing in the Company, hath put my Lords into a Perplexity, what the Issue will be; for, if they shall press them to remove presently, or demand it without their Consent, they suspect that it will serve them for a Colour, to excuse the not taking away the Stand of Cloth at Home, between this and *Christmas*, which they have undertaken; and so, in some sort, some of them did obscurely insinuate, that if they had not some Vent, they would not perform the Buying here. If they shall stay the Remove, and suspend it, then is his Majesty's Honour, in some sort, in Question, because it is known, that such a Resolution is taken by their Lordships with his Majesty's Approbation. And, although their Lordships have given the Merchants further Time to consider till *Monday*, yet I thought good his Majesty should know how it standeth now, that he may weigh, in his own great Judgment, what Direction he will give, if on *Monday* they be not otherwise resolved for the Remove, than yet we find them.

If his Majesty shall resolve, that the Prohibition of the Trade shall proceed, I had conceived a Form of a *Proclamation*, which I beseech your Lordship to acquaint his Majesty with; and, if he like it, then, when Time is, it shall be ready to be used.

Touching the Commission his Majesty gave to my Lord *Fenton*, Mr. Attorney, and me, upon some Overtures made to Mr. Attorney, by some of the *old Company*, we have spoken with *Towersson*, and find little Foundation in it towards

wards his Majesty's Ends, as my Lord *Fenton* can more particularly inform his Majesty and your Lordship, if you be desirous to hear of it.

In the Matter of *the Strangers*, whereof the City renewed the Complaint since his Majesty's going, their Lordships have thought fit to proceed by these Degrees: First, To give present Warrant to my Lord Treasurer, and Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, to put in Execution the *Statute of Employment*, according to certain Articles, a good while since agreed upon by their Lordships, but suspended for a time. Then, touching *Artizans and Merchants trafficking* against the Laws of the Realm, have sent to the Lord Mayor, to deliver in the Names of some few, and most notorious, that their Lordships, knowing the Quality of the Persons, may give Order for proceeding against them, and so see what Effect will fall out. So, with Remembrance of my Service, I rest

*Your Lordship's to command,*

*Charing Crofs,*  
5 Oct. 1616.

THO. LAKE.

*From the same.*

*My very good Lord,*

MR. Vice-Chamberlain's Books being now ready, he sendeth one expressly to your Lordship with them, to procure them to be signed. There be two Pieces: One, subscribed by Mr. Attorney, is the Grant of the Land to him; the other is a Discharge of the Ten thousand Pound, being the Consideration mentioned in the Grant: He prayed to signify



so much to your Lordship, because it would not come so well from himself alone in his own Case: And, when he returneth them signed from your Lordship, they shall pass the Seals. This I thought good to add, that, for the Thousand Pound to *Panmure*, and the other to my Lord *Stanhope*, he hath left with me the Acquittances of the Receipt thereof by them: And for the 100 *l.* a Year of Annuity to *George Digby*, the same cannot be done till the Grant be passed; because it is to issue out of the Land. So I leave further to trouble your Lordship.

*Your Lordship's, to command,*

*From Charing-crofs, this  
19th Novemb. 1616.*

THO. LAKE.

The *Old Merchants* have, Yesternight, resolved upon some Offer to his Majesty; and I send Sir *Lionel Cranfield* to you with it: But the Particulars I know not; for they keep them secret. Sir *Lionel* cannot go till To-morrow be past, because he is not sworn till To-morrow after Dinner; for I could not get the Council to meet till then.

*From the same.*

*My very good Lord,*

WE have been this Day at Council, as I wrote to your Lordship: And, first, have given Answer to the *Old Merchants*, according to his Majesty's Commandment signified by Mr. *Edmonds*; which was also confirmed by my Lord Chamberlain being present. One of them, Mr. *Towersson*, besought their Lordships, that they would be Mediators to his Majesty, that their next Offers might be accepted. He

was

was answered, That my Lords had clean dismissed them, and were to have no more of their Offers. But we gather, by that Speech, that they had something in Purpose. I pray God it prove to his Majesty's Contentment.

Then their Lordships heard some of the *New Company*, and some Dyers, and the Projectors of the *new Dying with Logwood*; and, after some Altercation, granted a new Trial to be made, on *Friday* next, upon two or three Cloths; which shall be afterwards worn for Six Months, to try the Sureness of the Colour. But, to my seeming, the Projectors do somewhat faint in their Assurance, and acknowledge, that it is not to be expected, that these Colours will prove as good as those of Cochinillo and Madder.

After that, we heard the Course of my Lord Treasurer, and Mr. Chancellor, for the raising of Fifty thousand Pounds upon *Woods*: And, though we concluded nothing, yet this I find, in my poor Opinion of both, that, by either Way, either his Majesty must be long before he receive the Money, or, if he will sooner have it, be a great Loser. The longer Way will be with less Loss, but with no present Ease to his Majesty's Charge; the shorter with more Use to his Majesty, but with great Danger of Loss. Whereupon I moved, that if my Lord Treasurer would move to those who deal with him, that, if they could not lay down ready Money, they would undertake the Discharge of so much Debt for his Majesty as Fifty thousand Pounds within One Year's Pay; which he said he would propound: And then my Lords to consider what Gain was meet to be allowed unto them upon their Bargain. I mentioned farther, that if it were possible that *One hundred thousand Pounds* might be borrowed in the *Low Countries*, upon Bonds of the City of *London* (if they could be intreated to it), and his Majesty to secure them  
again;



again; a Course which I offered their Lordships to shew had been often used in the Times of Queen *Elizabeth*, in the Beginning of her Reign; of Queen *Mary*, King *Edward*, and of King *Henry* the Eighth: And, if that could be, his Majesty should have time to raise Money for Reimbursement thereof again, with less Loss than by sudden Sales of his Woods, or other Goods. Many of the Lords seemed to like this Way, and purpose to consider of it at another Meeting. Mr. Secretary told me, that he thought, upon some Grounds, that if *the Merchants* would make their *Residence at Amsterdam*, that Town would lend the Hundred thousand Pounds: Which I wished were done; for it would work our Goods, be a Vent for the Merchants, and Money for his Majesty. What will come of this, I know not; but sure I am, that it is unlucky that the Offers of the *Old Merchants* have been no more agreeable to his Majesty: For, if they were a Corporation, as heretofore, I assure myself they would have taken up the Money for his Majesty upon their Credit.

Then Mr. Secretary and I spoke with Sir *William Cockain*, to know what they had done for procuring any Residence out of the *United Provinces*. He told us, that they had good Hope given them by the Archduke's Agent here, and by Mr. *Trumbull*, that they should have a Vent there upon reasonable Terms; which we willed them to pursue. I wished him to speak with the *Spanish* Embassador about it, and to procure him to write in it; which would not a little further them: For I had caused him to be dealt with; and he did in a manner assure they should have Contentment in Matter of Religion. And I find the Merchants think it convenient for them, howsoever they may hereafter have the Vent opened in *Holland*; yet to keep some Residence at *Antwerp* also, if once they get it, to keep the others in Awe.

So

So as, if his Majesty like they should use the Help of the *Spanish* Embassador, I will cause them to follow it.

When I was last at *Royston*, I moved his Majesty concerning one *Jones*, condemned in the Premunire for refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance; because some good Friends of his had dealt with me, that, if he might receive some Favour, he might be used for some good Service amongst those of his Profession. His Majesty seemed to incline to it, so as he would take the Oath; for, without that, his Majesty thought he was not to be trusted. I have answered so to them: And Word is brought me, that he will take it; and that he had before not refused it, but he was somewhat quickly dealt with. I beseech your Lordship acquaint his Majesty with this; and, if he like to make Trial of him, I will take some other Counsellor to me, and give him the Oath: And, that being done, I do not wish a Pardon for him at first, but that we may see what Service he will do to deserve a Pardon. Private Services must be done by such Instruments; and I am made believe, that in that Kind he shall deserve well.

I have troubled your Lordship too long; and, by my next, will send the Matters concerning the Borders, as his Majesty commanded me. And so I rest

*Your Lordship's to command,*

Friday Night,  
15 Nov. 1616.

THO. LAKE.

I forgot to let your Lordship know, that we agreed upon the Form of a *Proclamation for Apparel*; and have thought fittest to make it without Distinction of Degrees; but that, of all Sorts, the outer Garment of Gown, Cloak, Jerkin, or Hose, shall be of Cloth, saving upon *Sundays*, Holidays, and Festival-Days, and Times of Triumph. Of this, I think, Mr. Attorney will advertise when it is ready.



*A Letter from the same, on the Proceedings in the  
Star-Chamber against P. Semayn.*

*My very good Lord,*

**T**HIS Morning my Lords did all assemble at the *Star-Chamber*, upon a great Cause against *Peter Semayn*, for *transporting* great Quantities of *Ordnance*, meaning to make it exemplary ; and Mr. Attorney, upon his own Confession, was to proceed against him this Term. On *Wednesday* last Mr. Attorney moved it at Council ; and the Lords promised all to be here this Day, to countenance the Cause. But they find themselves suddenly eluded and scorned, the Man being escaped Yesternight, either by Corruption or Negligence of the Messenger who had him in Charge. And, because my Lords do doubt lest he may be gone to the Court, and there make some Means to his Majesty to stay Proceeding against him, I do, by Advice of my Lord Chancellor, and my Lord of *Canterbury*, the rest being not yet come hither, send away to your Lordship, to pray you, on the behalf of my Lords, to acquaint his Majesty with the Case, and to beseech him that he will not give way to any Favour, or Interruption of their Proceeding, being a Matter determined in Council, and known abroad, and in great Expectation ; seeing withal his Majesty may get more by a judicial Fine, than any Body can do by Corruption. So, in Haste, I leave further to trouble your Lordship.

*Your Lordship's, to command,*

*From the Star-Chamber,  
this 18th Oct. 1618.*

THO. LAKE.

*From*

*From the same.*

*My Duty to your Lordship humbly remembred;*

HAVING received this Day about Noon these Letters from Sir *Henry Wotton*, I thought fit to send them to your Lordship, that his Majesty may be made acquainted with them. I do believe that the Peace of *Italy* is made; and we hear none other from elsewhere. The Note which is a Part, touching the Two Persons like to conform, would have some Signification of his Majesty's liking, how he shall proceed with them, if he do hear any more of that Purpose.

I have sent to his Majesty the Resolutions of Council about the Mid-shires; which, because it is a Piece of Work that his Majesty hath had the Honour to begin, and can say more to it than any body, it may please your Lordship to present to him to peruse; and, if any thing occur to his Judgment fit to be added or amended in these Opinions of my Lords, upon Signification thereof it may be done, before the Execution of these Orders can be perfected.

I have also sent to your Lordship the Opinion of the Civilians upon the Case of the Re-delivery of the *Dutch* Skipper who stayed *Brotin* in *Scotland*, whereof though I hope there will now be no Use, because the Man is like to be delivered; yet I thought it not unfit for his Majesty's Sight.

Concerning his Majesty's Business, the Work of my Lords this Day hath been about the Pensions: And therein they have begun with my Lord Steward, and taken away his whole Allowance of 1400*l.* by Year, which he had instead of his Diet before he was Lord Steward, having, now that he is Lord Steward, his Diet again.

H

They



They have followed upon all his Majesty's Servants of the Bedchamber, and Privy-chamber, and some others; from whom they have abated a Third Part; saving of such as they conceive to be poor, and to have none other Maintenance. And this they do for Example-sake. And so far have they gone this Day, and will proceed as they meet; which I think will not be till *Saturday*, being *Star-Chamber* Day: For the Term, now ending, giveth them so much to do in their Offices, as they cannot meet sooner.

Your Lordship knoweth, that Embassadors and Agents will expect to have Correspondency kept with them, as it is fit; and therefore it may pleasure your Lordship, if his Majesty have no Directions to give upon any of these Letters, at least to send them back, that, upon perusing of them again, I may strike off something to be writ to them, as of mine own, till his Majesty's Directions do come.

My Lord Treasurer, Sir *Edward Coke*, and I, have resolved to give Direction to Mr. Attorney for drawing the Letters Patents for Sir *Edward Villars*; but think fit to mediate with him, that he would deal well with *Reynolds*, who has the Reversion.

I have nothing further to trouble your Lordship with, but that, now the Term is ended, and I think his Majesty's Business in as good Forwardness as we can put it, I have a Purpose, in the Beginning of the next Week, to come to *Newmarket*, to kiss his Majesty's Hands, though to make no long Stay there: For I think I may be back time enough before the Household be ready; which, I hear, go but slowly on. So I humbly take my Leave.

*Your Lordship's humbly to command,*

*From Charing-crofs,  
this 26 Nov. 1617.*

THO. LAKE.

My Coming I intend, if I hear not from your Lordship to the contrary.

*From the same.*

*My Duty to your Lordship humbly remembered;*

I Have thought it fit to give his Majesty an Account of what hath passed this Day in Council in his Majesty's Affairs, or in such as have been commanded to me from him.

First, to the Matter of the Household: My Lords had before them the Cofferer, and some other of the Officers, as many as could be gotten together, and renewed unto them his Majesty's former Commandment, of reducing his House to the Proportion your Lordship knoweth of: To which they replied much, and would have done more; but that, after some Altercation, my Lords told them peremptorily, It was a Matter of Obedience, and not of Dispute; and so charged them with it upon their Peril: And hath given them this Day Fortnight to bring in, and present to their Lordships, the new Frame.

At another Session, on *Wednesday* next, the Matter of the Pensions will be proceeded in as far as my Lords shall be able.

For that of *Ireland*, my Lords have this Day received an Excuse from the Deputy and Council, that the Officers sent for cannot well come, the one of them being very sick, and the Council not ready to send them furnished till after *Christmas*.

The Matter of the *Borders* is fully concluded on, only in the chief Point; which is, the Assurance which the Lords and Gentlemen should give for their Tenants. My Lord *Clifford* giveth some Reasons, why it is more inconvenient for my Lord his Father, and him, than for other Lords; and hath craved time to deliver his Reasons in Writing; which my Lords have not denied him, although otherwise they have spoken very stiffly to him, as of a thing that must be done: For that they find, that if it be not universal, and in all, it



will never hold in any: So as they hope he will conform himself. And now, after some Conference with some of the Judges, and his Majesty's Counsel, about the manner of proceeding in the Matter of Remanding, there will remain nothing to do, but to give Warrant to his Majesty's learned Counsel for making ready the Proclamation, and the Commissions.

The Complaint against my Lord *William Steward* was spoken of; and my Lord *Clifford* reported what he had seen to that Purpose in a Letter: But, because he would not name the Party, and so there was neither Accuser nor Proof, my Lords knew not what farther to do, but to send to the Commissioners, to know what was the Truth; and to will my Lord *Clifford* to deliver in Writing the Party's Name who was rescued, and such other Particulars as he knew, that my Lord *William* might make his farther Answer in Writing.

Mr. *Evelling* was also heard upon his Petition against my Lord of *Worcester*, about his Patent for making of Powder; and my Lord of *Worcester's* Answer read: Whereunto, because the young Man that followeth would not venture to reply out of his own Judgment, he desired to be heard by his Counsel; which my Lords granted; appointing withal, that his Majesty's learned Counsel should be present on the Behalf of the Patent.

I have sent your Lordship herewith the Letter to the King of *Denmark*; which, as soon as your Lordship shall return, his Man shall be dispatched withal. So I humbly take my Leave.

From Whitehall,  
Novemb. 22.

*Your Lordship's humbly to command,*

THO. LAKE.

The Letter to his Majesty is my Lord *Wallingford's* Answer to my Lord *Bedford's* Suit: Wherein it may please your Lordship to signify his Majesty's Pleasure.

From Mr. Secretary Calvert.

*May it please your Lordship,*

THE Star-chamber Day being now passed over, wherein the *Dutchmen* have had Justice, and his Majesty Honour, in the Proceeding; I have thought it my Duty to acquaint his Majesty with the Sentence, by your Lordship's means, who, I doubt not, but by his learned Counsel, was before sufficiently informed of all the Particularities of the Offences, for which the Defendants have this Day had their Tryal.

*Day*, the Broker, and wicked Instrument betwixt *Rowland* and the *Dutch*, for his Ambidextry, and betraying his Majesty's Cause, by Treachery and Subornation of *Rowland* to retract his Oath, was censured, First, to be degraded of his Place of Attorney in the Court of Common-Pleas; to forjure, and never to deal as a Solicitor hereafter in any Cause again; to be fined Two thousand Pounds, imprisoned during the King's Pleasure, and to stand upon the Pillory at *Westminster* and in *Cheapside*, with an Inscription on his Forehead containing his Fault.

*Outremer* and *Burlamachi*, were both in the same Fault, but not in the same Degree, by far, as the Court conceived; because *Outremer* had entertained *Day's* Offer, and given him a Bribe: *Burlamachi* only hearkened unto it, but would give him no Money: And yet he joined with the rest, to prosecute *Rowland* and Sir *H. Brittain*, with a Cross-Bill in the Star-chamber. Wherefore *Outremer* was fined at Two thousand Pounds, and *Burlamachi* at One thousand Marks.

*Stamswell*, the Fourth Defendant, for bribing *Day* with Ten Pounds, and Promise of Forty Pounds more, for saving him from Prosecution in the main Cause of Transportation, was fined a Thousand Pounds.

Thus



Thus have I made your Lordship, as short an Account as I can, knowing more Length to be both needless and troublesome.

I shall not wait upon his Majesty again, perhaps, till *Saturday*; because I am to examine the Matter of *Peacock* and the *Conjurer* a little further, by his Majesty's Commandment. I humbly beg your Lordship in the mean time to excuse me.

I had almost forgot to let his Majesty know Mr. Attorney's Answer, touching the leaving out of *Delabarro*, in this *ore tenus*: He saith, That he thinks, in his Conscience, he was as guilty as the rest; but, because they could get nothing from him by Confession, as they did from the rest, he could not be proceeded withal, *ore tenus*.

This Afternoon my Lords the Commissioners for my Lord of *Suffolk's* Business have met, and had his Majesty's learned Counsel before them, who did there briefly open the Cause; and my Lords, together with the two Chief Justices there also present, were so well satisfied with it, as they think fit it should proceed according to the Appointment; and the learned Counsel are all of them assigned their Parts.

His Majesty commanded me to write to Sir *Lyonel Cranfeild*, about the Payment of the Ten thousand Pounds, Parcel of the Bargains for the petty Farms. He hath sent his Answer; which I humbly beseech your Lordship, at the best Opportunity, to present unto his Majesty. And so, craving many Pardons of your Lordship, for putting you to this Trouble, I humbly rest

*Your Lordships most faithful and obliged Servant,*

St. Martin's Lane,  
13 Oct. 1619

GEO. CALVERT.

*From*

*From Sir Geo. Calvert to the same.*

*May it please your Lordship,*

AS soon as I received your Letter, I acquainted the Lords with his Majesty's Pleasure concerning Sir *Arthur Aston*; who instantly gave Order to discharge the Restraint, which was before upon his Passage.

For our Proceeding Yesterday in the Star-chamber, I presume, his Majesty hath had an Account thereof from other Hands: If not, I shall be sorry this Letter hath staid so long. Your Lordship may therefore be pleased to acquaint his Majesty, that in the Morning, before the Sitting of the Court in the outer Chamber, my Lord Steward delivered a Letter from my Lord of *Suffolk* to the Lords, to this Effect; That he was much grieved to enter into Contestation with his Majesty, and would therefore make any Submission, which their Lordships should think fit, acknowledging himself guilty of any Errors or Faults, which he might have committed; and therefore desired their Lordships to be Mediators unto his Majesty for him, and that, until his Majesty's Pleasure were known, the Proceeding might be put off. Mr. Attorney, on his Majesty's behalf, opposed it; and desired that the Evidence might proceed as was appointed; to which my Lords all assented, finding nothing in the Letter, that might induce them to alter their Course, without Prejudice to the Cause, and to his Majesty's Service. Whereupon, the Court sat, and fell to the opening of the Evidence; which was as well, and as orderly done as possibly could be. They are of such length, as we passed over only the Three first Points of the Charge; that is to say, the Jewels,  
2 the



the Matter of the Ordnance, and the Alums. The next are, Misemployment of the King's Treasure, and Extortion upon the Subject. For that of the Jewels, it was only touched, and no Evidence produced, because a Pardon was pleaded, and allowed of by the Court.

This is as much as I have to trouble your Lordship withal at this time, humbly attending to receive your Commandments, that in any thing else I may serve you, who am

*Your Lordship's humble, affectionate,  
and much obliged Servant,*

St. Martin's Lane,  
23 Oct. 1619.

GEO. CALVERT.

*From the same.*

*May it please your Lordship,*

I HAVE received your Letter, dated Yesterday at *Royston*; and by it perceive, that his Majesty, of his great Goodness and Favour towards me the unworthiest of his Servants, is pleased to grant me my Suit. I render my humblest Thanks unto his Majesty therefore, and acknowledge myself much bounden unto your Lordship, for your honourable Recommendation.

Concerning the Passage of the Business in the Star-chamber; since it pleaseth his Majesty to inform himself from me, what the Reasons were of so small Fines being imposed upon the Delinquents, I shall give the best Account thereof I can, out of the Observation I made.

His

His Majesty, by the Course of that Court, can have no Damages; yet, in such a Case as this was, where his Majesty sustained so much Loss, Consideration was to be had of Damages equivalent to the Loss, though they passed under the Name of the Fine; and an Overplus likewise to be added to the Fine, in respect of the Crime, as it concerned the King and Commonwealth, without relation to his Majesty's private Interest. This being the Ground, Sir *Edward Coke*, who began first, supposed his Majesty's Damage to be Fifty thousand Pounds, *vis et modis*; and therefore censured him at One hundred thousand Pounds, which is the Double; although, he said, he might have very well have made it Quadruple. Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer followed; and, without giving any particular Reason, other than the great Abuses and Corruption in general laid to the Defendant's Charge, agreed with him in the Sentence.

My Lord *Hobart* was the first that dissented; and, though he condemned my Lord and my Lady both, as guilty in the whole Charge, yet agreed not with Sir *Edward Coke* in his Calculation. For the *Ordinance*, he did hold him guilty of a gross and wilful Negligence, much to the King's Disservice, and great Peril of the State; but acquitted him of all *Bribery* or *Corruption* in that Particular, for any thing that appeared to the Court.

For the *Alums*, wherein his Majesty was said to lose 13,000 *l.* Arrearages, by cancelling of the Articles and Bond of the first Contract without Warrant, He condemned him for it, as a very great Fault; but, insomuch as there was great Probability, by the Proofs on the Defendant's Parr, that the Second Bargain was more advantageous to his Majesty than the First; and that, without the cancelling the First Bargain, and all its Dependences thereupon, the Contractors would not



have entered upon the Second; though his Act in itself was unwarrantable, yet it had the more favourable Construction in that regard.

For Misemployment of the King's Treasure, and Extortion, he censured him likewise as most guilty: But the Misemployment, though it were a great Abuse and Deceit to the King, in an Officer of so great Trust as he was; yet it was but a temporary Loss, the Moneys being still restored again, after they had been employed a while to his private Use: In which Particular, though the Proofs pointed more directly and precisely, for the most part, at my Lady and Sir *John Bingley*; yet neither in that, nor in the Matter of Extortion, could he sever my Lord from my Lady; but did condemn him as privy and consenting thereunto; seeing those Moneys were all employed to my Lord's Use, and for the Payment of his Debts, and other his necessary Occasions; whereof it was impossible but he should take Notice. So as, upon the whole Matter, he censured my Lord as guilty of every material Part of the Charge; but, all those Considerations aforesaid being weighed, could not audite his Majesty's Loss to so much, by a great deal, as Sir *Edward Coke* did: In which respect, regarding the Crime itself, for which he imposed much more, he thought Thirty thousand Pounds a Fine sufficient for him and my Lady; the rather, for that the Law of *England* is, that every one should be fined, *salvo contentamento*; which is with a Saving to himself of a convenient Maintenance; otherwise it were a Ransom, and no Fine. And for Sir *John Bingley*, it appeared plainly that he had been a base Broker between my Lord and Lady on the one Part, and the Subject on the other: Yet, because he was a petty Officer under the Command and Rule of the Lord Treasurer, who might crush him at his Pleasure; and that

that the Bribes which he had taken (for so far as appeared upon Proof before us) were slight unworthy things, tho' with Corruption enough; it was thought sufficient to lay Two thousand Pounds upon him, besides his Imprisonment at his Majesty's Pleasure. This was the Effect of my Lord *Hobart's* Sentence, to my best Remembrance; which all the Court afterwards followed, except Sectetary *Muneton*: And I assure your Lordship, for mine own Opinion, being thus carried as it was, I think his Majesty hath got as much Honour in the Proceeding as ever he had in any Cause; which, I know, his Majesty values before all other Respects whatsoever.

Thus have I dealt freely with your Lordship, to my poor Understanding; wherewith your Lordship may be pleased to acquaint his Majesty, and to excuse my Errors, who am

*Your Lordship's,*

*Most humbly and affectionately to serve you,*

St. Martin's-lane,  
15 Nov. 1619.

GEO. CALVERT.

I have committed your Letter to the Fire, as your Lordship commanded me.

*From the same.*

*May it please your Lordship,*

**T**HIS Day we have made an End of that longsome Business of my Lord of *Suffolk*, and have given him his Doom; which is, Thirty thousand Pounds Fine for him and his Lady, and both of them to be imprisoned in the *Tower*, at their own Charge, during the King's Pleasure: And Sir



*John Bingley* in Two thousand Pounds Fine, and to be committed to the *Fleet*.

Sir *Edward Coke*, who began the Sentence, did, before he came to the Particular, open unto the Court sundry Precedents of Record in antient Times; whereby it appears, that Treasurers of *England* have been grievously fined for lesser Delicts: Which, I assure your Lordship, was to very good Purpose; and I doubt not but hath given great Satisfaction to all the reasonable Auditory, that the Proceeding against my Lord of *Suffolk* was upon just and honourable Grounds, and no such rigorous and extraordinary Work as many in the World were made to believe. So did Mr. Secretary *Naunton* likewise declare the whole Proceeding in this Cause *seriatim*, before his Majesty and the Council, from the first granting forth the Commission of Inquiry, and the Occasion thereof; by which it hath also appeared, how graciously his Majesty was ever inclined to Mercy and Lenity, in remitting all Proceeding this way against the Earl, if his Council would have persuaded his Majesty, that in Honour he might have done it. So as, I hope, with his Majesty's Honour it was first enterprised, and with his Honour is ended.

My Lord of *Arundel* tells me, that his Majesty inquires after the Commission, which it pleased him to give me in Charge to perfect, touching the suppressing of Rogues, and setting the Poor on Work. I humbly beseech your Lordship, do me the Favour, as to let his Majesty know, that it is no Slackness in me: I put it into the Hands of a Lawyer to make the first Draught, because it is a Matter legal; and though I have sent to him for it every Day this Sevensnight, yet could I not get it till Yesternight; so busy are they this Term time. And now I have it, it must be perused and considered on again, by his Majesty's learned Counsel: And I will

also advise with Sir *Edw. Coke* about it, before it be presented as a perfect Work unto his Majesty; because it is a Business of great Weight, and will find Opposition, as all Reformati<sup>o</sup>ns do. But all the Diligence shall be used by me that is possible, God willing; and I am glad with all my Heart, that his Majesty's princely Care continues still towards that good Work. God continue him, many and many Years, in all Health and Prosperity among us. But I hold your Lordship too long beyond Good-manners: I humbly pray your Pardon, and rest,

*Your Lordship's most obliged,  
faithfully and humbly to serve you,*

St. Martin's Lane,  
14 Nov. 1619.

GEO. CALVERT.

*The following Letter from Lord Chancellor Bacon,  
to the Duke of Buckingham, in the Caballa, may  
serve to explain and illustrate the foregoing.*

*My very good Lord,*

**M**Y Lord of *Suffolk's* Cause is this Day sentenced; my Lord and his Lady fined at Thirty thousand Pounds, with Impriso<sup>u</sup>ment to the *Tower* at their own Charges; *Bingley* at Two thousand Pounds, and committed to the *Fleet*. Sir *Edward Coke* did his Part, I have not heard him do better; and began with a Fine of One hundred thousand Pounds. But the Judges first, and most of the rest, reduced it as before. I do not dislike, that things pass moderately; well considered, it is not amiss, and might easily have been worse.

There



There was much speaking of interceding for the King's Mercy; which, in my Opinion, was not so proper for a Sentence. I said, in Conclusion, that Mercy was to come *ex mero motu*; and so left it. I took some other Occasion pertinent to do the King Honour, by shewing how happy he was in all other Parts of his Government, save only in the Manage of his Treasure by these Officers.

*God ever preserve and keep you, &c.*

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*A Letter from his Grace of Canturbury, to Mr. Cecil or Mr. Cheek, on the Prohibition, by Proclamation, to print any Book without the King's Licence, or Six of the Council.*

*To my very loving Friends, Mr. Cecil One of the King's Two Principal Secretaries of State; or to Mr. Cheek.*

AFTER my very hearty Commendations, these be to signify unto you, that *Raymer Wolf*, at my Desire, hath fully finished the Printing of my Book, for Answer to the late Bishop of *Winchester's*, written against mine, of the Doctrine of the Sacrament. And forasmuch as both Printing and Selling any Matters in the *English* Tongue is prohibited by a Proclamation set forth, unless the said Matter be first allowed by the King's Majesty, or Six of the Privy-Council, as you yourself shall more plainly perceive, by the Proclamation which herewith I send unto you; therefore I heartily pray you to be a Suitor to the King's Majesty, or to the Privy-Council, that Mr. *Raymer* may have Licence for the Printing and Selling of my said Book accordingly; and,

and, the same so obtained, to send me with convenient Speed: For, in the Beginning of the Term, I think were very necessary to be set forth, for the Voluntation of many, which have had long Expectations for the same.

As soon as I shall receive Advertisement, when the King's Majesty will be at *Hampton Court*, I will come thither to see his Grace, and to do my Duty towards the same. Thus fare you heartily well. From my Manor at *Croydon*, the 30th of *September 1551*.

*Your loving Friend,*

T. CANT.

*May it please your most excellent Majesty,*

**P**RESENTLY, upon your Majesty's Letters, we repaired to the *Tower*, and called the Lady *Roos* before us, and signified unto her your Majesty's Royal Pleasure and Command, requiring her to take her Oath, for Discovery of Truth. She very obstinately refused to take her Oath, saying, She had denied your Majesty, when you pressed her to it, neither would she now be sworn before us: We used all the good Counsel, and fairest Persuasions, we could give her; but all in vain. We then let her know, in angry Words, that this Offence was greater than that for which she was justly sentenced; for that was but a Wrong to a Lady her Peer; this was a Contempt to the King her Sovereign: But nothing would prevail with her: Wilfully and absolutely she refused to take her Oath; which Refusal we have here certified to your Majesty, and did not question her upon any Particular;



lar; for so was your Majesty's Directions, in case she refused to take her Oath: Only this in private I said to her, that when your Majesty delivered, in the Star-chamber, how she had refused to take her Oath, and to answer your Majesty in these Things, whereupon she had been formerly examined; this one Thing did more convince and condemn her, in the Opinion of all that heard it, than all that in the Books was proved against her: Also I shewed her *Sarah Swarton's* Hand to her long Confession, which put her to a great Blush, though I told her nothing, that she had confessed. Thus, fearing to be over-troublesome to your Majesty, I rest

*Your Majesty's most obliged Servant,*

London,  
25 Feb. 1618.

H. MOUNTAGU.

From the Original.

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*The following Letter was added to the foregoing in the same Manuscript.*

*Monsieur,*

**J**E tiens à beaucoup d'Honneur celles qu'il vous a plu m'ecrire par Monsieur de *Biron*, votre Parent, et non moins le Choix qu'il a fait de son Sejour en cette Ville, pour vous y pouvoir temoigner en sa Personne, combien je defere au Merite de la votre, et au Lieu que vous tenez auprès de ce très sage Roi, duquel le seul Faveur et bonne Grace est une Approbation par tout le Monde. Il vous dira donc, Monsieur, que votre Recommendation m'a été une Commandement;

ment; ce que vous connoîtrez en Effet par mon très humble Service, si j'ai ce Bonheur que vous le vouliez emploier. Sur ce . . . . . Monsieur, je vous baise très humblement les Mains, et supplie le Createur vous avoir en sauve Garde. De Saumur ce dernier Avril, 1620.

*Votre très humble, et très affectionné Serviteur,*

DU PLESSIS.

*An original Letter, in French, from Stephen Lord Scroope to King Henry IV. 1405.*

**T**Res excellent, tres redoute, et mon eslovereyn Seigneur; je me recommand a vostre haute et Reall Majeste a tant come aucun lege homme puis a son Seigneur soveryn; desyrant ad tout mon coer de oyer et savoyr bonez nouvelles de vos et de vostre haute Majeste, le quell je pry a ly tout puissant que tous jours maintenir et encrez com vostre coer mesmes savor a multz soheyder ou deviser; et vos doynt toujours le victoyr de tous voz enemyz: Et, tres redoute et mon eslovereyn Seigneur, je vous supply par dieux, et en overe de charyte, que vos plesse, que je puis estre en vostre memoyr: Et pour tant que je suy en vostre servysse ovesk mon tres redoute Seigneur vostre Fitz, que je ne soy pas en obly. Et parce je ay envoie devant vostre haute presenz Hugh Cordoys, porteur de ceste, pour pursuer devant vostre haute presenz rouchant mon bille que je ay baylle a vostre hautesse a mon deseyn de partir de vostre haute presenz, touchant le ylle de Man, en cas que vous plect que ill poursue pour le dit matre: Et autrement je le met en vostre haute et graciouse volonte. Par en bon foy de dieux, mon eslovereyn Seigneur, je ne ay null espoyr, ne null eyde de null creature fors que de dieux et de vostre gracyouse et haute Majeste: Et parce par dieux,

K

que



que vos plesse penser de mon pover estat, le quel je ne puis mayntener ne sustener en null manier sanz vostre gracyouse ayde. Et serteyn et en bon foy vos me trovezes touz jours humble et loyale lege, et prest a touz servyces que vos me commandrez ad testous mon poayer en corps et bienz sanz null fayntisse; Tres excellent, tres redoute, et mon essuer eyn seigneur, je pry aly Tout-puissant, que touz jours maynten et encrez vost haute et Realle Majeste en ioy, honer, et prosperite, com vost graciouse coeur mesmez saver a multz soheyder. Escrit a Chest, le xxvii. jour de Auste, de ma propre rude mayn, en deffaute de un alt' clerk. Et par ce ie supply a vost hautesse, que vos plesse me tener pou excuse de cest Lettre.

*Vost humble Lege,*

S. SCROPP.

A tres excellent, tres redoute, et mon essovereyn seigneur,  
le Roy.

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*An original Letter from the Magistrates of MUR-  
RENBURGH (as suppos'd, tho' hardly legible) a  
City in Prussia, to Henry IV. on Publick Af-  
fairs, dated 5 October, 1412.*

**H**Umili Recommendationi, voluntario cum Servitio ad  
quævis Majestatis Regiæ beneplacita jugiter antemissa.  
Serenissime Rex, magnifice Princeps, et Domine gratiose,  
Serenitatis vestræ Majestati gratiarum actiones devotas refe-  
rimus, quamquam non condignas, pro eo quod magnificen-  
tia vestra, Anno præterito, Ambasiatores, Nuncios, seu Pro-  
curatores nostros ad vestræ Dominationis Gratiam ex parte  
Summæ

Summæ pecuniarum ad nos, Ordinisque nostri provincias, et Subditos, spectantium, pro tunc destinatos, reverenter tractare decrevit benignis favoribus et gratiis promotivis; Quodque prædictos Nuncios Ambasiatores, seu Procuratores nostros, tunc temporis duo millia Nobilium nobis de eadem Pecuniarum Summa gratiose destinare decrevistis, intimo ex affectu, juxta vestrarum Literarum Continentiam; supplicantes, quatenus Solutionem adhuc de Summa ejusdem Pecuniæ residua, Majestati vestre Regiæ, usque ad Festum Nativitatis Christi proxime affuturum prorogare, prout hoc ipsum Animo grato Celsitudinis vestræ ob respectum fecimus, dignaremur. Quare, Serenissime Princeps, et Domine Gratiose, Ambasiatores nostros, Nuncios solempnes, seu Procuratores Dominationis vestræ Majestatem, supra Festum Nativitatis Christi nunc venturum, transmittere disposuimus, Magnificentiam vestram desideriis votivis humiliter implorantes, quatenus cum dictis Nunciis nostris, nobis, et Subditis nostris, residuam ejusdem Pecuniæ Summam, sine Dilationis ulterioris Obstaculo, prout de innata vestra Benevolentia, et speciali Gratia, indubie confidimus, dignemini destinare.

Insuper Celsitudini vestræ Regiæ significamus per Præsentes, nos circa Festum Penthecost' nuper præteritum ordinaverimus nostri Ambasiatores solempnes ad tractand' Negotium, quod inter Regem et Regnum Poloniæ ex una, nos Ordinemque nostrum parte vertitur ex altera, ad Illustrissimum Principem et Dominum, Dominum Sigismund. Ungariæ Romanorumque Regem, non sine gravi expeditione et apparatu destinasse, speraturi eosdem ante Festum Assumptionis *Mariæ* Virginis gloriosæ nuper præteritum, indilatus reversuros; de quibus tamen nil aliud, quod etiam dolenter scribimus, comperire potuimus, nisi quod sunt in via revertendi. Ut igitur Serenitatem vestram Regiam, qualiter Negotium hujusmodi inter Regem et Regnum Po-



loniæ, nos Ordinemque nostrum, quod vertitur, in Ungaria finaliter conclusum sit, clarius valeamus informare; memoratos Nuncios nostros ad Serenitatis vestræ Celsitudinem super Nativitatis Christi Festum proxime venturum dirigendos circa nos in Diem protrahimus hodiernum, quousque a dictis Ambasiatoribus nostris Ungariæ missis sufficienter edocti fuerimus, qualiter hujusmodi Negotia sopita sunt, seu decisa; ob quod, multiplicatis sinceris precibus, Serenitatem vestram devotissime supplicamus, in casu quo iidem Nuncii nostri supra memoratum Nativitatis Christi Festum proxime venturum Majestatis vestræ Conspectui se offerre non valerent, sed quibusdam post Festum Christi Nativitatis Hebdomadis, transactis cum certis nostris Literis se exhiberent, quod Regalis Serenitas hujusmodi Prorogationis Negligentias nec nobis, nec Nunciis nostris, sed Dilationi Ambasiatorum nostrorum de Ungaria, dignetur imputare. Pro quo, immo pro quibusvis et innumeris aliis Gratiis, quibus Celsitudo vestra Regia nos, ac Ordinem nostrum, jugiter conspicere consuevit, et fovere, pronis Famulatibus et Complacentiis, quibus poterimus, parere Volumus vestræ Majestati, quam Deus Omnipotens sanam et incolumem conservare dignetur per Tempora diuturna. Datum in Castro nostro *Marienburg*, quinta Die *Octobris*, Anno Millesimo Quadringentesimo Duodecimo.

*Frater Henricus de Plaullin,*  
*Ordinis Thef. Magister Generalis.*

Serenissimo Principi, ac metuendo Domino, Domino  
*Henrico Regi Angliæ et Franciæ*, Domino nostro  
gratiosissimo, d. d.

*The Papers of Sir HENRY BUTLER, of Ireland (of the Ormond Family); consisting of some very excellent Charges delivered at the Quarter Sessions held at Londonderry; and of Speeches in Parliament on taking the Speaker's Chair, and presenting Bills.*

*The Whole tending to promote publick and private Virtue, and to lay down a Plan of very useful and safe Politicks.*

*At a Session of the Peace at Newtown, 21 Jan. 1655.*

*Gentlemen, and good People,*

**I**N Obedience to this Command, and in pursuance of the Trust reposed in us by this Commission, which you have heard, we are thus publicly and openly assembled here this Day: A Day, which is to us a Calm after a Tempest, a Sunshine after a Fog, a Time of Peace and Tranquillity after the Horror and Confusion of an intestine War, and the Distractions of an unsettled Commonwealth. It were but Loss of Time and Labour, to descant on the present State of Things, or to cast into the Balance the Advantages and Emoluments of a peaceable and orderly Government, with the Spoils, Rapines, and innumerable Calamities, of a rebellious and domestic War: You all, that are now Partakers of the Benefits of the one, can give a more ample and judicious Account, having a more distinct Remembrance, and some of you a woful Experience, of the Effects of the other. Religion the Mother of Peace, Plenty the Daughter, and Law the Guardian, how often, how long, have they been obscured, estranged, and ravished from us! And in their stead, Heresy hath misguided us, Famine devoured us, and the lawless arbitrary



trary Humours of evil Men undone us! But now, through the great Goodness of God, and the prudent Care of Him that governs us, we begin to recover from our Miseries, and to return to our pristine Establishment. Religion is presented to us in so many Shapes, and preached to us by so many Mouths of all sorts, that, unless we be blind and deaf, we cannot miss of it: Plenty was never more generally, more sensibly, known in this our Nation: The Windows of Heaven are largely opened, and the fertile Womb of the Earth hath prodigally delivered her Burden, to our Comfort and Refreshment; insomuch that I might well say (but that *Latin* is forbidden) there is a *Cornucopia* among you.

The Laws, which the loud Clamour of War had so long silenced, do now speak aloud in our Ears; the Courts are re-erected, and the Law-books thrown open before us; and being translated into our Mother-Tongue, we can now, without relying on the Subtlety and Sophisms of the Lawyers, and the weak Crutches of human Learning, pry into those Secrets, which were hidden from our Forefathers, and speak our Minds in plain *English*. A ready Instance and Confirmation hereof is our free and unmolested Meeting here this Day; where, according to the several Articles empowering us to sit here, I shall briefly inform such as know not, and put in Mind such as know already, their Duty and Business in this Place. Two Sorts of things are here to be taken Notice of: First, Such things as are not properly cognizable, but only to be heard and inquired after: Secondly, Such things as may be here heard, inquired after, and determined. Of the first Sort, are Treasons and Felonies; the several Kinds whereof I shall not need particularly to enumerate and explain, they being not the proper Business of this Court: The other Sort are venial, or fineable Offences. Some other Things

Things I shall briefly run over, and only name them, they being most frequent and epidemical Vices of this Country, too well known among us.

You are impartially to present all such as are guilty of,

1. Profaning the Sabbath, by keeping Fairs and Markets, by manual Labour, by Plays, haunting Taverns and Ale-houses.

2. Cursers, and common Swearers.

3. Common turbulent Drunkards.

4. Common Adulterers.

5. Fornicators.

6. Keepers of common Gaming-houses, and common Gamesters.

7. Alehouse-keepers, that keep Misorder in their Houses.

8. Plowing by the Tail.

9. Pulling the Wool off living Sheep.

10. Burning of Corn in the Straw.

11. Selling of Wine, Ale, or any other Liquor, in any Town franchised, by Measures not sealed.

12. Cosherers, and idle Wanderers, &c.

I have now only one thing to mind you of, as a general Caution to you in your Presentments: That in those you make, you do set down a Certainty of the Persons presented, with the Time, and Place, and Manner of the Fact: Otherwise let the Matter be what it will, for which you do present any Man, your Presentment may become void, and of little or no Effect: For Defect in the manner of making it, and setting it down, will make it void.

Now, Gentlemen, proceed to your Business; and let your Skill and better Judgment supply in your Presentments, whatsoever Defects you have discovered in the Charge, and in me the Deliverer of it, whom my Brethren have desired to perform this Task, as being the least able, and only a Probationer in the Place.

*At*



*At the re-assembly of the Parliament, at Chichester House, Oct. 26th, 1665.*

Mr. SPEAKER,

THE many repeated Prorogations of this present Parliament are plain and convincing Arguments, how great an Esteem and Favour our Sovereign Lord the King doth retain for us; that he hath not only a Confidence in our Integrity, but some Opinion of our Ability and Readiness to serve him; else he might with the same Breath have dissolved us, with which he hath so often prorogued us: The Consideration whereof ought in good Reason to excite our Gratitude, as well as Industry, to promote his Honour and Advantage by all Ways imaginable. But, alas! how shall we contrive the Settlement of the Kingdom, who are reported to have contributed to its Ruin? How shall we be the Authors of wholesome Laws, and establish the common Quiet, when some of ourselves have endeavoured its Subversion, and to deface the very Form of Government? To speak plainly and briefly; although it be not consonant to the Rules of Logic, in all Cases, to denominate the Whole from a Part; yet we are so unfortunate to lie under the Scandal of an horrid and unnatural Plot, because some Members of this House have apostatized into their accustomed Treason. I know, to some of them the Ax hath been applied; to others, the Sceptre of Mercy hath been held out; and as we admire the King's Clemency, so we submit to his Pleasure: But shall I be bold to say, though the King hath pardoned them, the Parliament hath not? Mr. Speaker, we are Judges of our own Members, and have an innate Power to censure and punish them: We are one united Body; and there cannot be a Fester, or  
Gangrene,

Gangrene in any Member, but the whole Body must suffer by it; and cannot continue in a State of Health, till by inward Purging, or outward Amputation, it be delivered from that which offends it. The *End of my Motion* is this, that we do immediately issue a Declaration to the World, testifying our utter Abhorrence and Detestation of that accursed Plot, and of the Joy and Honour we receive, from the Prudence and Vigilance of that most excellent Person, who, under his Sacred Majesty, governs this Kingdom; and in the mean time, that it be ordered, that such of our Members, as have had any Hand in that abominable Plot, be expelled the House, and voted incapable to serve again in this, or any future Parliament. For *my own Part*, I shall not adventure to come any more under this Roof, till the House be *swept* and *aired*, and the *Guests* secured from the *Venom* of these *Serpents*, that have *crept* in among us.

*At a General Session of the Peace at Derry,*  
Oct. 14th, 1668.

*Gentlemen,*

**I**T hath pleased my Brethren of the Bench, to impose this Task upon me, which I ingeniously profess myself utterly incapable to discharge, unless supported by their Favor, and your good Opinion. And as I know they design it for my Advantage, to improve me by this Trial, so I hope both they and you will indulge me a Pardon for what Failings or Mistakes my Weakness, and Want of Experience, may render me obnoxious to.

Gentlemen, you are the Body of the Country, the Families and Persons of the Country at large, epitomized, and represented in a small Number: You are the grand Eyes to

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range to and fro the Land, to discover what is fit to be done, what is fit to be amended: You are (I will not say the great Ears of the Country, lest it might seem a Reflection; but you are) those who ought to listen and hear, where the Poor are oppressed, your Neighbours injured, and the King's Peace infringed: You are the general Mouths: You ought to tell, and disclose, whatever you know prejudicial to the Honour of the King, and Safety of the People, and to present what you conceive may tend to, or prove, *pro Bono Publico*. I cannot set before you a more clear and comprehensive Mirrour of your Charge, and the Business you come about, than in the Words of the most antient and most excellent Law, made in the 3 E. I. commonly called the *Statute of West.* 1. *Imprimis, Rex vult & precipit, quod Pax Sacro sanctæ Ecclesiæ & Terræ solidè custodiatur & conservetur in omnibus; quodque Justitia singulis, tam Pauperibus quam Divitibus administretur, nullâ habitâ Personarum Ratione.* If I were to speak to Novices, and Men unexperienced, it would take up the whole Day, to comment upon each Word of this golden Law; but to Men of such Knowledge, and such Practice, it is enough to name the Text.

Gentlemen, remember it is the King's Will and Command, that the Peace of the Church, and of the Land, be preserved: If you will shew yourselves good and obedient Subjects, then you are to present,

1. Such as use other Forms of Prayer, or Administration of Sacraments, than what is prescribed by the Stat. 1 *Eliz.* and the late Act.

2. Such as neglect to repair to the Church, to hear divine Service on Sundays and Holidays, &c.

Finally, Whatsoever is perpetrated derogatory to the Honour of God, and the King; and tending to the Disturb-

ance of Peace, and the common Good: Whatsoever is omitted, that actually is a Duty incumbent, or consequently and collaterally may be of Advantage to the Public.

But what am I doing! Instructing those, whose Understanding and Experience enable them with much more Reason to teach me: Methinks I run the Fate of a young Probationer to the Pulpits, who preacheth *ad tentandum*; to whom the learned Auditory listen, not expecting to be taught, but observing what he hath learned. I shall not interrupt the Business of the Day by any longer Discourse: Go together: God Almighty, and a good Conscience, direct you.

*At a General Session of the Peace at Derry,  
Jan. 19. 1668.*

*Gentlemen,*

IT is the Honour, and it is the Happiness, of this Kingdom wherein we live, to be guided and governed by the common and municipal Laws of our Mother Kingdom of *England*. It speaks the Goodness and Providence of the great Governor of the World, to dispose the Hearts of those that conquered this Land, to leave no Marks or Brands of Slavery upon it, nor to expose it to those Inconveniencies, to which a subdued Nation is usually obnoxious. It might have pleased the famous *Henry II.* (who first conquered this Land) to introduce a Form of Government, shaped and modeled by his own Will and Invention, to have kept us fettered in the uneasy Chains of Tyranny, and to subject us to the uncertain and unequal Dictates of an arbitrary Power: He might have left us groveling in the *Cimmerian* Darkness of *Irish* Ignorance, and distracted with the brutish and irrational Customs of *Ta-*



nistry. But, to the contrary, more like a Father, than a Conqueror of this Country, he caused that antient and famous Treatise, intituled, *Modus tenendi Parliamentum*, to be transcribed fairly in Parchment, and sent into *Ireland* for their Direction. By this means, and by the Promulgation of the Common Law, the Nation hath by degrees been civilized, and the opprobrious Nickname of wild *Irish* utterly worn out, and extinguished.

To give you particular Instances of the Principles of our Laws, to shew their clear and genuine Deduction from the Law of Nature and Reason, their Harmony and Agreement with the Civil Law, which is the Law of Nations, were to take up your Time in a theoretical Discourse, which will more profitably be employed in a Consideration of such Rules as the Wisdom of our Ancestors hath prescribed, to prevent and cure those Distempers, with which the Frailty and licentious Humour of Mankind is too-too pregnant. Give me Leave only to offer this One thing to your Observation, That the same Law, which is a Bridle to the People, is a Limit to the King; that as the Crown is his Inheritance, so the Law is ours; that we are bound by Allegiance, and the King by his Honour and Promise, to maintain the Laws; whereby so equal and even a Road is chalked out between Liberty and Tyranny, that no People under Heaven, can pretend to so happy a Constitution. This is well remembred, and summed up, in 19 *H. VI. f. 62.* that the Law is the most high Inheritance of the Realm, by which the King, and all his Subjects, are governed; and that if the Law were not, there would neither be King nor Inheritance; for to out-run the Law, is to haste to Confusion.

Gentlemen, the End and Errand of our assembling here, at this time, is, to hear, and take Notice of, all Offences and

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Transgressions of the Law, our Fence and Fortrefs against Ruin and Confusion; to redress and punish such Faults, as by our Commission we are enabled; and to transmit Crimes of a deeper Dye to the Censure of a superior Judicature. But we can do little ourselves; every Member of the Political Body hath his peculiar Office and Function; and you, Gentlemen, are the grand Intelligencers, who, from the several Corners of the County, have collected an Account of such things, as are proper to be presented to our Cognizance and Decision.

I shall not retard you by a longer Preface, nor perplex you with the Nicety of Distinctions and Subdivisions, which the copious Matter of the Laws doth abound with, and the too curious and logical Heads of the Lawyers have invented and contrived. I shall only give you the plain and general Division of our Laws into ecclesiastical, and civil. *A Jove principium*: We will begin with the Church. As she is our common Mother, so let us, like true Sons of the Church, advance her Honour, consult her Profit, and obviate all such things as may promote Schism and Disunion; else are we *Bastards*, and *not Sons*. The two Paps of our indulgent Mother, from whence we daily suck our spiritual Nourishment, are Doctrine and Discipline. Therefore you are to present,

All Offences and Misdemeanors that tend to the Church's Prejudice in either respect, &c.

Gentlemen, I shall trouble you no farther, only to add this Caution and Counsel; That you will seriously consider and remember your Oath, that the Frequency, and customary Repetition of this Employment may not abuse your Understandings, by a slight, formal, and perfunctory Performance of it: Remember the Articles given you in Charge; and remember, you have *sworn* to remember them: Con-



ceal not your own Knowledge, neither reveal the Counsel of your Fellows: Be not led by Fame only, neither refuse a credible Testimony: You are only to *make Informations*, and not to *try Issues*; and therefore that may warrant a *Presentment*, which will not justify a *Trial*: Use no Reservations in your Mind, nor make Repositories in your Conscience (as possibly some, in Simplicity, may do, intending such Presentments and Discoveries for the Assizes): But you must know, though this Court may not determine, it may hear all Offences, from Treason to Trespas: And though he that conceals Felony, cannot be accused for it, without his own Discovery, yet he is condemned for it in his own Breast, and his own Remembrance shall one Day witness against him.

God Almighty, and a good Conscience, direct you.

*At a General Session of the Peace at Londonderry,*  
Apr. 22d, 1669.

*Gentlemen,*

**I**F we believe Him, who is Truth itself (whose Doctrine stands not in Need of the frail Approbation of Schools and Councils, to make it authentic, but repelleth all the Darts of Contradiction, by the sole Authority of the Speaker; that descendeth not in the muddy Drops of uncertain Sciences, and vain Philosophy, but diffuseth itself through the dry Furrows of our Understanding, in a Stream clear and pure, as the Fountain from whence it ariseth), it is impossible but that *Offences will come*: And if we consult the Records of our own Memory and Experience, we shall find it imprinted in Characters too plain and legible, that this is the impulsive Cause of the Severity of our Laws,  
and

and Multiplicity of Statutes: Hence ariseth the Variety of Judicatories among us: Hence it cometh, that so many Judges, and so many Courts, are here established, that the Judgment-seat is hardly suffered to be cool; that the Session-house is worn bare, by the Trampling of the Suitors; when, in the mean time, the Church is filled with Mouldiness, by the Unfrequency of treading in it.

And as those glorious and brave People of *Rome*, in the Infancy of their Dominion, were sufficiently bridled, only by the Laws of *Numa Pompilius*; but afterwards, growing luxuriant in all Vices, to which a Nation proud, rich, and victorious, may be obnoxious, there appeared a Necessity of appointing Consuls, Proconsuls, Prætors, Tribunes, Censors, Pontifices, and many other Officers; and all too little to restrain the exorbitant Passions of Men, or prevent the plentiful Production of new-fashioned Prevarications: So we (when as the Innocency of our Forefathers required no more than the Alderman, or Earl of the County, the Leets, and the Sheriffs Turn); we, I say, are so *witty* in sinning, so *ingenious* in the Contrivance of new Transgressions, and, like the Sands of *Africa*, continually producing *new-shaped* Monsters of Iniquity; that the Parliament, the Council-table, the Four Courts, Two general Assizes, Four Quarter-Sessions, Courts-baron, and Leets *sans Stent*, Courts of Admiralty, and Spiritual Courts, are all busily employed in the Punishment and Reformation of Enormities, and deciding Controversies, by Decrees, Judgments, and Fines, which the Stubborness of the Parties will not suffer to be otherwise accommodated: And, by this means, we daily behold some insignificant Officers swell, like the Horse-leach, with the corrupt Blood sucked from ill-gotten Estates, and unjust Suits,



Suits, and thrive, and grow rich, by the Sin of the People. We are forward and fertile in the Propagation of Vice, as *Egypt* is in the Plenty and Variety of Grain and Fruits; and no sooner hath the Sun of a Goal-delivery; cleansed our Streets, destroyed the Vermin, and licked up the Dirt of our Land, but our own Corruptions, like the Waters of *Nile*, overflow us again, and cover us with the Slime and Mud of perverse Inclinations, which are exhaled in Meteors of Vanity, and descend again in Showers of Animosity and Envy; and so the Seeds of Contention do nimbly grow and sprout up into a Harvest, ripe and ready for the Sickles of the next Quarter-Session. The People, indeed, are the Authors and Contrivers of their own Trouble, and, by the loud Clamour of their Irregularities, do awaken Vengeance; while we, who meet and sit here by the King's Commission, are most unwilling Dispensers of this vindictive Justice.

But, Gentlemen, you are a College of Physicians; you must view, and handle, and probe, the inward and outward Parts of the politic Body; you must inquire, and find out, the Distempers and Diseases, and prescribe Cures fit and convenient. Therefore, if you perceive any choleric Fumes of Treason or Rebellion, any unconcocted Crudities of Heresy and Schism, to arise from the Body, and assault the Head, you must discover it: You know the grand Influence the Head hath on the Body; how all the Parts and Members of the one do participate in the Disorder of the other: Tell us, then, if you find any malignant Vapours arising, that we may seasonably dispel or prevent them.

If you find any cauterized with the Devil's own Brand, Treason against the Person or Crown of the King, or possessed with the evil Spirit of Rebellion, or lunatic in hatching  
their

their impious Thoughts into treasonable Words; you must present them.

If you know any Persons poisoned with Atheism, distracted by a false Religion, or giddy by Nonconformity, refusing to come to public Service established by the King, and wandering after a new-fangled Discipline, in the Idolatry of their own Brains, either bowing the Knee to *Baal*, or not giving Obedience to Christ's Vicegerent; present them.

You are to present such as are transformed into Beasts, by a common and habitual Debauchery of swinish Drunkenness, or goatish Lust; and such as do worse than Beasts, in murdering and destroying their own Species.

Such as, by common Swearing, do shew that their *Tongue is a sharp Sword*; or, by common Cursing, discover that the *Poison of Asps is under their Lips*.

Those, that by open Violence do invade their Neighbour's Right, terrify or endamage his Person, or encroach on, and usurp, his Property, by Robbery, Burglary, Rape, Burning of Houses, Larceny, Riots, Routs, unlawful Assemblies, Assaults, Batteries, Bloodsheds, forcible Entries, and Detainers, Rescues, Distresses contrary to Law, Poundbreaches, and all other kind of Felony or Trespas.

Such as, by secret and clandestine Ways, do undermine and supplant their Brother, and suck Advantage from another's Detriment, and set the Neighbourhood on Fire, while they sit undiscerned behind the Curtain; as Maintainers of Suits and Quarrels in Country and Court, Champertors, and Embraceors, Extortioners, Usurers beyond the Statute, Foretallers, Regrators, and Ingrossers, Bribers, and Bribe-takers.

All litigious Persons, that, like the Salamander, delight to live in the Fire of Contention, as common Barretors, and Eves-droppers.



Those that make War against Heaven, and defy the Searcher of Hearts, by the brassy Impudence of wilful Perjury; or that, with *Lucifer*, delighting to be damned for Company, do suborn, encourage, or command, ignorant and necessitous Persons to be perjured.

There are some other Spots, discoverable in our Horizon, which are not observed in the general Map of the World; I mean, such things as particular Statutes have forbidden, and pronounced penal; as stealing of Women under Age, Multiplication of Coin, Night-hunters in Parks, Relievers and Harbourers of the King's Enemies, and proclaimed Rebels, Counterfeiters of Tin, and Dispersers of false Money, robbing of a Stall in a Fair or Market, Rescuing of Felons, breaking of Prison, voluntary Escapes in Gaolers, Constables, or the like.

Polygamy, using of false Weights and Measures, selling unwholsome Meats or Drink, Conspiracy in Tradesmen, Labourers, and Servants, Plowing by the Tail, Cosherers, and idle Wanderers, using the *Irish* Apparel, and not using the *English* Habit and Language, destroying Fish out of Season, Neglects of Constables in setting, and of the People in keeping Watch and Ward.

But, Gentlemen, let not your Employment be only to rake into the Conversation, and sift the Actions, of other Men; let your Prudence, and Care of your Country, dispose you to a Consideration of the Public: You have Power and Opportunity (for *Easter* Session is the Time principally pointed at by the Law); and therefore present all Defects of and in Bridges, Causeways, Toghers, and Highways; and what else your own Observation and Experience may suggest to be added, abolished, or amended, as tending to the Honour of the King, and the Prosperity of the People.

I have now only Two things to trouble you with: One is an old Law, the other a new: One about Servants; the other about Work: One about saving your Money; the other about laying it out well: But both for the common Good and Advantage of all. The first is concerning Servants; that you will set down a Rate to be paid to Servants, Labourers, and Artificers, with respect had to the Scarcity of Money, and general Poverty: Gentlemen, I must recommend this to your Consideration effectually: Cheapness of Bread hardeneth some Men in their Idleness, and Excess of Wages makes the Servant despise the Master; and he that holds the Plough is in a better Case, at the Year's End, than he that owns it: The Shepherd is now become the Wolf, that devours the Flock: The Labourers and Servants are the ill Winds that blast the Corn in the Field, or else the Vermin that destroy it in the Barn; and the poor Husbandman, like *Acteon*, is eaten up by his own Followers. The other thing is, the Linen Manufacture; a Law as yet new and strange, but Usage will make it familiar, and will prove it to be ingeniously contrived to advance Trade, and to set unemployed People on Work: What a Credit will it be for our Country, that where heretofore the *Tyrian* Silk, and the fine Linen of *Egypt*, had the Reputation through the World, now the fine Linen of *Ireland* shall carry the Bell? Hollands, Cambricks, and *Calicuts*, shall now be turned to the Dresser-cloths, and disposed to the meaner Uses of the Kitchen; while *Irish* Linen shall be advanced to the Court, and have the Honour to enwrap the delicate Bodies of Queens and Ladies: Here you shall see *Women contend*, and yet not *hear* them; you shall see *Ladies striving* (not who shall go *foremost*, or who shall be *dressed finest*, but) who shall *spin* the finest Thread, or *weave* the finest Web, and return with Profit and Acclamation,



mation, as from the *Olympic Games*; and our *Daughters* shall account it an Honour, and not a Blemish, to be styled *Spinsters*. Contrive therefore some equal and speedy Course, to raise the Twenty Pound, designed by the Statute, for that Use.

Gentlemen, I will not tire you: I have discoursed, not out of a Vanity to teach or instruct you, but only out of a Design to entertain you. Men so acquainted with Business, and so versed as you are in the Mystery of a Grand Jury, are able, from the Logic of your own Experience, to inform and teach the Bench: Men of such good Principles, and unstained Consciences, are able to read Lectures of Divinity to one another. Wherefore I shall only charge you to remember your Charge, and to finish your Task without any malicious Reflection, because of Hatred or Revenge; or any partial Reservation, by reason of Kindness, and particular Engagements.

God and a good Conscience direct you.

*At a General Session of the Peace at Londonderry,*  
July 14. 1674.

*Gentlemen,*

IT was the Saying of *Plato*, that divine Philosopher, that that City or Commonwealth was most unhappy, where LAWYERS and PHYSICIANS did thrive, and grow rich: This was not said to derogate from the Reputation of those *Two* so necessary and honourable Professions, but, as in a Mirrour, to represent the frail Condition of mortal Men: One Man cannot grow great, without the Diminution of another; and they that contribute to the Health of our Bodies, and the

Securiry

Security of our Estates, do grow, and reap Advantages from the Sins and Infirmities of their Brethren. Certainly there is no Instance more convincing, nor Proof more pregnant, of the general and incurable Prevarication of human Nature, than to observe, that with the frequent Return of these public Meetings, at Assizes and Sessions, there is as constant a Return of Matter and Occasions to exercise the punitive Power committed to our Hands by the Laws of the Land. But *in many things we offend all* (says that great Preacher of Charity); and it is wonderful, that neither our own Prejudice, nor the Examples of our Neighbours, can prevent those Exorbitances, which are the Effects of our Passion, and our wilful Transgression of the positive Laws of God and the King.

Gentlemen, you are called here, to probe and search into the secret and unseen Parts of the Body: You are not, out of Affection, to cast a Cloak of Excuse on the Nakedness of your Father, nor maliciously to publish the Shame of your Brother: But, with a religious Obedience to the Laws you live under, and a conscientious Care of the Oath you have taken, you are, without Passion or Reservation, indifferently to present,

Such Persons, as are bewitched by Rebellion; that by Word or Deed do act, or threaten, or conspire, against the sacred Person of the King, or to overthrow the established Laws of the Land: We are not enslaved under the Tyranny (that sometimes our Forefathers were) not to know what Treason is till it be committed: The Laws are plain; the Statutes are public; and the many Explanations you have heard, in Charges given at this Place, do sufficiently instruct you in the several Branches and Degrees of Treason.

You



You are Men, not only of a Christian Profession, but guided with Knowledge: You understand your Duty to God, as well as your Neighbour: And therefore it were but time spent in vain, to enumerate the several Articles, which may administer Matter to your Presentments; otherwise I should mind you, that you are to present, &c.

Let me especially recommend two things to your Consideration: Let me conjure you, as you tender the Peace of your Conscience, and the Security of your Lives and Fortunes, that you be not remiss in it; that is, to present,

All Relievers and Harbourers of the Kings Enemies, Tories, and proclaimed Rebels.

All such Constables as refuse or neglect to set, and such People as refuse to keep Watch and Ward.

Consider how necessary it is to a Thief to have a Receiver; that, without it, his Thievery would be as unprofitable, as it is impious: Do by them, as you do by the Wolves; raise the Cry, suffer them not to rest or nestle in the planted Country, and they will soon starve upon the Mountains. He that relieves a proclaimed Rebel, is not only guilty of his Treason, but accessory to the Blood and Spoil of his Neighbours; and he that neglects to watch in his Turn and Order, is not only an accidental Cause of the Mischief of his Country, but a supine and sluggish Contemner of Authority, and justly to be accused of Misprision.

I have here in my Hand a seasonable Instance of the Goodness, Prudence, and Care, of the King's Lieutenant: It is to prevent Corruption in Sheriffs, and public Officers, and the extorting exorbitant Fees: It is not to encourage Men in Broils, or to persuade them to sin, because they may be questioned for it more cheaply; but it is to hearten honest Men in a just Defence, and to secure them against malicious Prosecutors,

that so they may not, when they are upon the Rack of a Traverse, tamely submit, and confess a Guilt, only to avoid the Torture. This will obviate the greedy, revengeful, and knavish Designs of Bailiffs; a Generation of Vipers, that overspread the Country, and are become one of the greatest Nuisances to the People: My Ears are hot with the Complaints of the Poor. Nothing so formidable as a Bailiff; the Landlord, and the Justice of the Peace, strike not half so much Awe on the Country, as a paltry Fellow with a white Stick: And the Reason hath been this, that if his Mouth be not stopt with Meal and Bribes, then the poor Man shall be presented, and vexed, and utterly ruined, before he can escape the terrible Inquisition of an Assizes or Session: Nay, I am confident, that most of those poor unfortunate Men that now are Tories, and stand upon their keeping, have been forced to it by the Terror of a *Capias*, and the Impossibility to discharge the overgrown Bulk of Fees demanded by Sheriffs, Clerks, and Bailiffs. You have now a Remedy offered: If hereafter you suffer your Blood to be sucked by such Horse-leaches, let no Man pity you, if you perish by a Consumption.

I have but one thing more to mind you of; which is now become the epidemical Disease of the Country: And that is, the overspreading Canker of Foresters, Ingrossers, and Regrators: A sort of Men, that are the Bane and Destruction of a Commonwealth; that endeavor to enrich themselves by the Impoverishment of others, and respect not how many do *lose*, so they do *gain*; that run counter to Providence, and, when the Windows of Heaven are opened, and all things necessary for our Sustenance dispensed with a liberal Hand, they gather it into Corners, and lock it up in their Chests, and bring it forth with no Purpose to relieve the Poor, or fill the Hungry; but only to gratify their own insatiable



insatiable Covetousness. I shall tell you *what* they are; and pray do you tell us *who* they are.

Foretellers are, properly, such as buy Wares, Merchandize, Corn, Grain, and other saleable Things, before they are brought to Markets and Fairs to be sold:

Ingrossers are such as have Corn, Grain, and other Things, sufficient for Sustenance and Profit; and yet do ingross, and buy into their own Hands, more Corn, and other Things, to sell the same again at more high Prices, in Fairs, Markets, or elsewhere:

Regrators are such, who buy Victual, Corn, or other Things, to the Intent to sell the same again at a greater Price at Fair, Market, or other Place whatsoever.

To shew what Harm and Inconvenience ariseth from such Men to the common Good, I will not consult the Chronicles, or call to Witness the Records, of past Ages: This present Time is a sensible Instance of the Effects of it, when so many are reduced to a Morsel of Bread; nay, many so unacquainted with the Taste of Bread, that they have forgot the *Use of their Teeth*; and very many, that formerly could entertain Strangers, are now begging from Door to Door; and Famine and Death are to be seen, in visible Characters, in the Faces of the Poor. And had this proceeded immediately from Divine Vengeance, and that the Scarcity of Provision had arisen directly from the Want of it, it had been supportable: But, praised be God! there is a sufficient Store of Corn and Grain among us, to sustain us, and our Neighbours, could it be drawn out from the greedy Clutches of those ravenous Ingrossers. They have been exclaimed on (saith *Pulton*), and condemned in Parliament, from one Generation to another, as appeareth by the several Statutes made in the Reign of *H. III. E. I. E. III. R. II.* and others. *Nullus*  
For-

*Fortstellarius in villâ patiatur morari* (saith the Statute of 34 E. I.), *qui pauperum sit depressor manifestè, & totius communitatis & patriæ publicus inimicus, &c.* Nay, the A&t and Name of a Foretaller were so odious in old time, that it was moved in Parliament to have it established by Law, that a Foretaller should be baited out of the Town where he dwelt by Dogs, and whipped forth with Whips. The Statute of 51 H. III. bids to inquire of Foretallers, that buy any thing before the due and accustomed Hour, against the good State and Weal of the Town and Market; or that pass out of the Town, to meet such Things as come to Market, being out of Town, to the Intent that they may sell the same in the Town more dear unto Regrators, that utter it more dear than they would that brought it, in case they had come to the Town or Market. And, Gentlemen, you shall find, that by the Disuse of the antient Custom (used in all Places in *England* and *Ireland*, except this County, and hereabout) to buy and sell in the open Market, all this Mischief is come upon us: And, were the Law carefully put in Practice (as we of the Bench are firmly resolved, on our Parts, strictly to look to it hereafter), that nothing be sold in Houses or Corners, but in the Market, there will be *no more Murmuring or Complaining in our Streets*; there will be no more Abuses in selling of unwholsome Victuals, or uttering it by false Measures; there shall be no more Lime mingled with Meal, nor shall the *Miller* (as the Devil did to our Saviour) command his *Stones* to be *made Bread*. Gentlemen, I have given you Warning: Do not spare to discover all Transgressors in this kind, lest, by your partial Concealment, you make yourselves Partakers in these Mens Sins, and become accessary to the Death of poor People, and the Destruction of their Families: Which God avert, and direct you.



*At a General Session of the Peace at Londonderry,  
July 15. 1679.*

*Gentlemen,*

**W**ithout Reflection upon the Person or Actions of any Man absent, I cannot but, with much Joy and Satisfaction, take Notice of the great Confluence of People at this Session, and congratulate the full Appearance on this Bench; where the Emptiness, for divers Years past, hath administred Occasion to ill-disposed People to prevaricate the Laws, on Presumption of their Impunity; and to our Neighbours, to conclude a Disagreement among us, from the Observation of our not meeting together: While the Jarring of the Justices begat a Disesteem of their Authority, and the General Session of the Peace became less frequented with Suitors, and less exercised with Business, than the meanest Leer, or Court of Pipowders. May the factious and turbulent Humours of such as delight in Contention never more appear in this Place! May the Union and Concord between this City and County never again be interrupted by the crooked and covetous Designs of any passionate Men, who, by arrogating to themselves a peculiar Privilege, or fomenting any Fwd in or between Town and Country, may embroil us in Controversies, Disputes, and Animosities! But may we all chearfully and unanimously club our Endeavours to maintain the King's Prerogative, the Subjects Liberty, and the free Current of the Law; and pursue all Opportunities that may tend to our common Good and Advantage. To promote which, you must deliberately consider, and impartially *Present*, all Transgressions of the Common or Statute Laws of this Land, and offer such seasonable Proposals,

posals, as may rationally conduce to the Remedy of past Evils, and the Prevention of future Inconveniencies. And though Crimes of the deepest Dye, as Treason and Felony, are not under the Cognizance and Judgment of this Court; yet it is just and necessary for you to present all Offences of that Nature, that they may be transmitted thither, where they are more properly determinable. We are a College of Physicians, enabled to apply Cures and Correctives to the several Distempers of the Body Politic: You are the ministerial Officers, who tho' you may not dissect and mangle, yet it is your Duty to handle, search, and discover, the peccant Humours, the latent Disorders, and dangerous Symptoms, of the common Body.

To pursue the Allegory in the regular Method of Anatomy; you must begin with the *Head*: If you do find any Phrensy, occasioned by rebellious and treasonable Humours lodged in the Brain; or any Megrim, proceeding from fanatic and schismatical Fumes; or any Lethargy, arising from a supine and careless Neglect of their incumbent Duties in Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Constables, and other Officers; give us an Account of it.

If you find any *Tongues* blackened with Blasphemy; discoloured with Slander, Backbiting, or common Scolding; swell'd with Lyes, and spreading of false News; inflamed with treasonable Discourses; speckled with Affidavits, Perjury, and Subordination; or cauterized with Barretry, Maintenance, Champerty, and Embracery; discover it.

If you find the *Palate* corrupted by inordinate Gluttony, or habitual Drunkenness; the *Eyes* distorted by lustful longing after what is forbidden by the Law of God and Nature; or bloodshot by malicious Contrivances; the *Ears* deafened by Eaves-dropping, Hearing of Mass, or other Forms of Service



than what is prescribed by the Statutes; the *Feet* surbated, by going to Places prohibited, for the Satisfaction of the Senses, or not allowed for the Service of the Soul; by forcible Entry into other Mens Possessions; by Coshering, and idle wandering; by straying into Riots, *Routs*, and unlawful Assemblies; let us know it.

If you find any *Hands* imbrued in Blood; stained with Felony, or Petit-Larceny; defiled with Bribery, Forgery, Extortion, or Oppression; hardened with Assaults, Batteries, Bloodsheds, or Mayhems; tainted with Counterfeiting, Clipping, or Washing of true, or Dispersing of false Money; polluted with using false Weights and Measures, with uttering unwholsome Meat or Drink; tanned with plowing by the Tail, pulling Wool off living Sheep, burning of Corn in the Straw, destroying Fish, or Fry of Fish (either in Season, without a legal Property, or with unlawful Engines, or out of Season by any means whatsoever); fattened by receiving of Tories and Rebels; brawned by Rescous of Felons, or Distresses lawfully taken, or by taking Distresses contrary to Law; sullied by taking of Usury above the Statute; or branded by Forestalling, Regrating, or Engrossing; if you know any such Misuse of so useful a Member, declare it.

When you have made this strict and diligent Inquisition, and presented to our View such accidental Deformities, or inward Maladies, as you shall observe; then call to Remembrance all Nuisances in Highways or public Streets, all Defects in, or Want of, Bridges, Causeways, or Toghers; that the King's Service be not retarded, nor the public Weal endangered, by things so easy to be remedied.

And now, Gentlemen, let me beg of you, that my Discourse may not run the ordinary Fate of Sermons, to be forgotten as soon as it is delivered; but let us see the Effects  
of

of this Counsel rebound upon us by the liberal and candid Return of your Presentments; taking this Caution, that, in the setting of them down, you remember the Circumstances of Names, Additions, Time, and Place, as well as the Substance of the Fact; that your Labour be not frustrated by the Uncertainty of the Expression. So God direct you.

*At a General Gaol-Delivery at Derry, Jan. 5th,  
1680.*

*Gentlemen,*

THE Reason of our assembling here this Day does administer to us an equal Occasion of Gladness and Wonder; reflecting in warm and sensible Acknowledgements of Duty and Gratitude to our Sovereign Lord the King, and to his Vicegerent; and awakening in us an amazing Observation of the prolific Nature of Evil; that the Body of our Country should be so exuberant in Maladies, as to necessitate so frequent a Visitation of the Physician. It is strange, that the Pleasure of Health, the Joy of Liberty, and the Satisfaction of Ease and Quiet, should not be Allectives sufficient to persuade Men to suffer themselves to live happily! that the Uncasiness of Restraint, the Scandal of a Gaol, the dismal Consequents of a long and close Imprisonment, a miserable Life, and an ignominious Death, cannot prove Cautions forcible enough to deter Men from repeating those Crimes, which they daily behold the Object of vindictive Justice! In Truth, the Gaol of *Derry* seems to be but a great Inn, made for the Reception, and daily Resort, of Strangers: The Rooms are no sooner swept, and the Lodgers departed, but the House is again filled, and the Chambers taken up, by new Guests: They that come here Spectators of their Neighbours Troubles,



Troubles, do seem to retain an unlucky Memory of the Crime, and an utter Forgetfulness of the Punishment: They seem to be in Love with persecuted Vice, and perversely bid Defiance to the Law: So that you shall often see him, who, at the last Assizes, was an Auditor, at the next become an Actor; he who, last time, was advanced to the Box as an Evidence, or to the Gallery as a Juror, the next time you shall find him crammed into the Dock among the Criminals; as if Men came to this Place, and listened to the Tryals, not to take Warning, but to take Example. And, since the Variety of Judicatories established among us are thus eluded by the invincible Stubbornness of desperate Offenders; since the daily Censures of the Ecclesiastical Courts can operate nothing toward an Amendment of Manners; since the gentle Visitation of Four General Sessions in the Year cannot perfect a Reformation; since the more severe Inquisition of Two General Assizes is not sufficient to cull out the Transgressors; but that the common Distempers of the People remain so tough, and so inveterate, that they will not be evacuated by any known Practice or Application; we are obliged to have recourse to extraordinary Remedies upon such extraordinary Occasions. And therefore, out of the King's superabundant Grace, and by the Advice, and with the Consent, of that illustrious Person that governs the Kingdom, this Court is at this time constituted and commanded: A Court that is not obnoxious to the Imputation of Novelty; it bears Date with the eldest of our written Laws, and vies Antiquity with any other Jurisdiction: And tho', in the Circumstance of this casual Appointment, it may seem unusual; yet it is a Court that we are all well acquainted with; the Commission, Authority, Power, and Proceeding, we have been accustomed to twice in the Year: And howsoever a Respect to this City, the Request

quest of the Magistrates, the Hazard of the Sheriffs, and the great Charge to the Country, were very prevalent Motives to induce his Grace the Lord Lieutenant to appoint this Meeting; yet I may freely and boldly say, and assure you, that the greatest Argument to incline him to it was his Charity and Compassion to the poor afflicted People in the Gaols, whose Misery he was unwilling to prorogue to the customary Days of the Assizes; and so to double that Punishment which their Crimes and Demerits may justly challenge, by the Aggravation of a sad and tedious Imprisonment.

You, Gentlemen, that are impanell'd to serve upon the Grand Jury, are so well acquainted with this sort of Business, that it were altogether idle and superfluous in me to go about to give you Instructions. Only take this brief Admonition: Let no Affection, Acquaintance, or unnecessary Tenderneſs, betray you into any unhandsome Partiality; let no Passion, Prepossession, or ill-kindled Zeal, incite you to any inordinate Severity: If, by Inquiry among yourselves, or by Information of others, you know of any capital Offences, as Treason, Felony, and other Crimes prohibited by Common-Law, or Statute, and committed against the King's Crown and Dignity; you are to make Presentments of them: As for Bridges, Highways, and such other Matters usually given in Charge, it is not your Concernment at this time: You are to consider, and chant, upon such Indictments as come before you; to repudiate such, with which, for their Uncertainty, Insufficiency, or Obscurity, your Conscience is not clearly satisfied; and all others, where the Matter, Evidence, and Circumstances, do concur to the Informing of your Judgment, to return to this Court, warranted by the Subscription of your Foreman; wherein we shall proceed as Justice requires,



quires, and according to the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom.

And so God direct you.

I have one Word to speak to the Sheriffs, and to you the Gaoler. I have heard many Complaints, and I have been sometime an Eye-witness, of the unreasonable hard Usage of poor Wretches committed to Prison, how they are, without Pity or Distinction, loaded with Irons; so that there is no Difference between him that commits *Treason*, and him that commits a *Trespass*, except in the Length or Weight of his *Bolts*. You must know, that a Gaol is intended by the Law *ad custodiendum, non ad puniendum*: It is to keep Prisoners safe, but not to torment them. If a Man be committed to the House of Correction, it is his Punishment: If he be committed to Gaol, it is his Security, that he may be forthcoming. when the Judge requires it. The old Law is expresse to the Point in these Words: “ Of Prisoners, we will, that none  
“ shall be put in Irons, but those which shall be taken for  
“ Felony, or Trespass in Parks and Vivarges, or which be found  
“ in Arrearages upon Accounts: And we defend, that other-  
“ wise they shall not be punished nor tormented.” And in the Old Mirror it is said, “ It is an Abuse, that Prisoners be charged  
“ with Irons, or put to any Pain, before they be attainted.” You have a sufficient Gaol, close Rooms, good Doors, and strong Locks. There is no Necessity to clap Irons upon any that are committed for Offences under Felony: Therefore let me advise you henceforth to use more Moderation and Mercy to poor distressed Christians.

*At a General Session of the Peace for the County of Londonderry, held at the City of Londonderry, April 25th 1682.*

WE the Grand Jury of the County of *Londonderry*, being truly sensible of his Majesty's Goodness and Indulgence to us, and especially of the Felicity we enjoy under the Government of his Grace the Lord Duke of *Ormond*; as also of the dangerous Designs and Machinations of open and clandestine Enemies against his Majesty's Prerogative, the legal Succession to his Crown, and the Protestant Religion established by Law in this Kingdom; do *Present*, and humbly desire, that the Justices of the Peace, Gentlemen, and Freeholders, in this County, will, by an Address to be presented his Majesty, express their Inclinations and Resolutions on that Account; and transmit it with all convenient Speed.

*May it please Your Most Excellent Majesty,*

We the Justices of the Peace, Gentlemen, and Freeholders, of the County of *Londonderry*, having, to our great Joy and Satisfaction, taken Notice of the numerous Addresses presented to your sacred Hands from the several Counties and Boroughs of your Majesty's native Kingdom of *England* (filled with the most transcendent Protestations of Love and Loyalty to your Sacred Person, and most Illustrious Family, and an irreconcilable Abhorrence of all Combinations and Confederacies against Prerogative, and the established Religion); and observing, with much Delight, and some Emulation, the just and generous Proceedings of your Majesty's ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, in asserting the Right, and  
O abetting



abetting the Interest, of your Majesty's only Brother, and apparent Heir; do religiously promise to persevere in this deliberate Resolution, that no Time, no Accident, no Force, nor Artifice, shall delude or shake us in our immoveable Fidelity to our most excellent King, his Heirs and Successors: That we shall, with all Circumspection and Steadiness, endeavor to avoid splitting either on the Rock of Popery, or the Bank of Fanaticism; but, by all the solemn Instances of Religion, Love, and Duty, promote the Honour and Safety of your Majesty, and your lawful Successors, and the Rights, Order, and Privileges, of the Church, and the Religion by Law established, so long as we have Blood to warm us, or Feet to move us, or Hands to defend us, or Bread to feed us, or Money to maintain us.

Suffer us, Royal Sir, to encroach upon One Minute more of your Patience: And because we cannot, by the utmost Reach of Words, or in the scanty Limits of this Paper, sufficiently enumerate the many Blessings devolved on us, by the Favour of Heaven, in your Majesty's miraculous Restauration, we presume to offer our most hearty and submissive Thanks to your Sacred Majesty, for the peculiar Favour, and unexpressible Happiness, your Majesty hath been pleased to vouchsafe us, and the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*, in appointing his Grace the Lord Duke of *Ormond* (that unparalleled Example of firm and steady Loyalty) to be your Majesty's Vicegerent in this Kingdom; by whose admirable Conduct, Prudence, and Moderation, he hath kept us in an absolute Tranquillity, without exasperating any dissenting Parties into a Mutiny, or discouraging the truly loyal orthodox Protestants by the least Indifferency or Disregard to their Principles, or a hazardous Indulgence to those of a contrary Persuasion.

*The following Speech was composed by Sir Henry Butler, upon an Apprehension of being chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, and led to the Chair.*

*Gentlemen,*

I AM hurried into this Seat, by the kind Violence of your Vote; and I find already a Mist before my Eyes, and that this elevating of me to a Place exalted above the Pitch of my ordinary Conversation, will make my Head giddy, and bewray that Weakness, which before lay disguised under the common Umbrage of Silence and Obscurity. Some Papists are of Opinion, that a Cardinal (though of never so exorbitant and vicious a Life, yet) so soon as he arrives at the Papacy, *Sanctitatem habet à Cathedrâ*, he derives his Holiness from his Seat: I confess I am not of so pliable a Faith, to believe such miraculous Transmutations; I do not expect any rare Qualities to be infused into me, by the secret Influence of this Chair; and so I remain still under an incurable Sense of my former Disability. I know very well, how requisite it is, that the SPEAKER of so honourable and so judicious an Auditory should be endowed with a general Learning, a solid Judgment, a quick Apprehension, a profound Memory, a charming Eloquence, and a plausible Elocution: And I, reflecting on myself, under the Shame of all the contrary Defects, cannot but renew my Petition to you, and that, by your Favour and Leave, I may sue for a Dispensation at the KING's Throne: But if that most *illustrious Person* who governs this Kingdom, shall become inflexible to my Request, and shall give the Deference to the Judgment of this House



(as in all other Cases, I am very confident, he will have just Reason so to do), I shall with all Alacrity submit to his Decree, and surmounting the Impediments, which the Diffidence of my poor Abilities would object in the Way, I shall employ my utmost Endeavors to serve you, and exert all my Faculties to content and please you: I will learn and practise to deport myself with all possible Fidelity, Secrecy, Courage, and Moderation; to speak such things, and at such times, as becometh the Mouth of so renowned a Body. But once more, before it be too late, let me beg of you to pitch upon some *Graduate* in this Science, and not to commit so great a Trust to a *mere Novice* in the Art of *Parliaments*.

*To the King's Most Excellent Majesty,*

*The humble Address of the Justices of the Peace, and the Grand Jury, for the City and County of Londonderry. At an Assizes, held for the said City and County, at Londonderry, Sept. 18. 1683.*

*May it please Your Sacred Majesty,*

IT is not without some Violence done to our Reason, that we have consented to the fashionable Humour, of presenting an Address to your Royal Hands. To make a solemn Profession of our Duty and Fidelity, is but a needless Assertion of that, which admits of no Doubt: To make a Present of our Lives and Fortunes, is but a niggardly Repetition of what is already devoted to your Majesty's Service. We do not intend a censorious Reflection on the glowing

Zeal of our Fellow-Subjects, who, in early and passionate Surprizes of Joy and Wonder, have congratulated your Majesty's Safety and Deliverance: We are only ambitious to testify to the World, that we are no Profelytes in Loyalty; that those essential Attributes, which constitute a true Subject, are not assumed by Imitation and Practice, but are inherent in us, and connatural to us, as the other Faculties of a rational Soul. Nevertheless, when we begin to consider the late execrable and flagitious Enterprize of the worst of Men, against the best of Kings, we are confounded with Shame, and overwhelmed with Sorrow: When we observe the stupendous Discovery of so impious and close a Design, we stand amazed at the unwearied Care of Divine Providence in this your Majesty's miraculous Escape, and second Restauration; and our Hearts are rapt into such an Ecstasy of Rejoicing and Exultation, as is utterly unconceivable and unutterable. Was it not enough, ye Monsters of Ingratitude! was it not enough, that ye aspired to the democratical Rule of his Majesty's Dominions, but you must pave the Way to it by the Blood of Kings and Princes? Must the innocent King suffer for his Goodness and Justice to his only Brother? Must the loyal Duke die for his Fidelity and Affection to his Sovereign? The intended Tragedy of the *Roman* Tyrant (who wished, that all the People in *Rome* had but one Neck, that so at one Blow he might destroy them) is acted over again, and outdone, by the infatuated Zealots of Anarchy; who, in the Attempt to assassinate your Majesty, and your dearest Brother, did design at one Stroke to cut off your Majesty's most illustrious Family, to extinguish a glorious Monarchy, and to bring to Ruin and Confusion Three flourishing Kingdoms. But *blessed be the Lord of Hosts, who hath given Victory to David his Servant, and delivered him from*  
his



*his Enemies on every Side!* As for us, who never had our Hands lifted up against the Anointed of the Lord, nor our Bloods tainted by the Rebellion of our Ancestors; who never imbibed any other Principles, than an intire and exact Submission to our Superiors; we defy the Devil, and all his incarnate Instruments, to pervert us from the even Path of Loyalty and Allegiance, abhorring all schismatical Tenets, and republican Maxims, and peremptorily resolving to exert all our Abilities in the faithful Service of our King, his Heirs, and lawful Successors, and to live and die under the most advantageous Character of,

*May it please your Most Excellent Majesty,  
Your Majesty's most dutiful, most loyal,  
and most faithful, Subjects and Servants.*

*At a General Session of the Peace for the County of  
Londonderry, held at Londonderry, April the  
29th, 1685.*

*Gentlemen,*

WERE I to address myself to Strangers, I should be obliged, in my own Defence, to recapitulate and expound the Laws and Statutes now in Force; and, at the same time, to make an Apology for my Undertaking: But I know you to be Men of good Understanding and Experience, and I believe you to be Men actuated by a Principle of good Conscience: The *one Qualification* will enable you to discharge your Trust, in a strict and diligent Inquiry into all Matters committed to your Consideration; the *other* will dispose you to an effectual and impartial Performance of your Duty,

Duty, under the several Cautions in the Oath which you have now solemnly and publicly taken. This my Declaration, in the Face of the Country, may justly supersede my Labour in explaining the Articles of your Charge, and instructing you in your Duty: Otherwise I plunge myself into the Necessity of this Dilemma; that I must either appear superfluous in a needless Harangue, or vain and complimentary in my commendation. Wherefore I shall only, with much Brevity, enumerate the several Heads of what you are to inquire into, and not impose upon your Patience by the Toil of a Comment, or extend my Discourse beyond the Decency of a Preamble.

Tho' Treason and Felony are not cognizable here, nor we competent Judges for the Tryal of such Offences; yet your Commission is unlimited, and as large as at the Assizes; and no Crime of that Nature ought to be unrepresented, if it fall within the Reach of your Inquiry.

Tho' in this Court we cannot indict, condemn, or punish any Malefactors, who go into Rebellion, levy War, stand upon their Keeping, or seize on the King's Forts or Ammunition, or go about to overthrow the established Laws of the Land, or utter Words derogatory to the King's Crown, Government, and Supremacy; who coin false Money, or clip that which is good; who wilfully, considerately, and of premeditated Malice, kill, and commit Murder; yet, if you know of any such enormous Crimes acted, you are to *Present* the Actors, their Abettors, Favourers, and Accomplices.

Tho' we have no Jurisdiction to try, or award Punishment for, Witchcraft, Sorcery, Conjuraton, or Inchantment; Sodomy, Polygamy, or Rape; for Burglary, Robbery, or Felony; for Homicide, Cutting out of Tongues, Putting out of Eyes; Burning of Houses, or Reeks of Corn; carrying away



away a Woman against her Will; Stealing, Withdrawing, or Avoiding, of Records; Breaking of Prison, and voluntary Escape of Felons; Multiplication of Coin, unlawful Hunting in Parks or Warrens; Transportation of Silver, or Importation of false Coin; Servants that embezzle their Masters Goods after their Decease, Piracy, Grand and Petit Larceny, Premunire, Conspiracy, and Misprision of Felony; yet, if you *Present* any such Offences, we shall award Process against the Parties, and remand them to a higher Court.

But if, in the Range of your Inquiry, you find any Magistrates, or Persons in judicial Offices, *smutted* with Bribery; if you know of any Extortion or Exaction in any Officers or Ministers of Justice, Usury beyond the Statute, Simony, Perjury or Subornation, Forgery, Libelling, Champerty, Maintenance, Embracery, Barretry; Riots, Routs, or unlawful Assemblies; forcible Entries or Detainers; Forefallers, Engrossers, or Regrators; Spreaders of false News and Tales; the Using of false Weights and Measures; Vending of corrupt Meat or Drink; Keepers and Haunters of Bawdy-houses; taking Distresses contrary to Law; or rescuing such as are lawfully taken; if you know of any Mayhems, Bloodsheds, Batteries, false Imprisonment, or any other Sort of Trespas upon any Man's Body, Land, or Goods; if you have espied any Man plowing by the Tail, burning Corn in the Straw, pulling Wool off living Sheep, barking of Trees, destroying of Wood, killing of Fish out of Season, or in Season with unlawful Engines, Depravers of the Common-Prayers, Absenters from Divine Service, Frequenters of Mass, or Deserters of the Church; *Present* the Offenders: And, as these Things are properly cognizable before us; so we shall discharge our Duty to God, and the King, in a just, strict, and impartial Correction of them.

Nor

Nor is it your Employment only to handle the Sores, and search the Wounds, and discover the Diseases, of the Body Politic: You are bound to propose Cures, and Salves, and necessary Expedients, for the common Good; and, on that Account, to present all Defects in and of the Highways, Bridges, and Causeways; and to promote the Removal of all common Nuisances.

Now, Gentlemen, to your Business; and set down your *Presentments* with a plain and positive Certainty, in relation to Persons, Time, and Place; neither aggravating any Transgressions by Prejudice, nor extenuating them by too much Tenderneſs. And ſo God direct you.

*The Declaration of the Gentlemen in Londonderry,  
upon the News of a general Massacre intended of  
the Protestants, upon the 9th of December 1688.*

TO all Christian People to whom these Presents shall come, the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Citizens, of the City of *Londonderry* send Greeting.

Having received Intimation, from several creditable Persons, that an Insurrection of the *Irish* Papists was intended, and by them a general Massacre of the Protestants of this Kingdom; and the same to be acted and perpetrated on or about the 9th of this instant *December*; and being confirmed in our Fear and Jealousy of so horrible a Design, by many palpable Insinuations, dubious Expressions, monitory Letters, and positive Informations, all conducing and concurring to beget in us a trembling Expectation of a sudden and inevitable Ruin and Destruction; we disposed ourselves to a patient and quiet Resignation to the Divine Providence, hoping for some



Deliverance and Diversion of this impending Misery, or to receive from the Hand of God such a Measure of Constancy and Courage, as might enable us to possess our Souls in Patience, and submissively to wait the Issue of so severe a Trial. Accordingly, when on the 8th Instant Part of the Earl of *Antrim's* Forces advanced to take Possession of this Place, though we looked upon *ourselves* as Sheep appointed for Slaughter, and on *them* as the Executioners of Vengeance on us; yet we contrived no other means of Escape than by Flight, and, with all Precipitation, to hurry away our Families into other Places and Countries. But it pleased God, who watches over us, so to order things, that, when they were ready to enter the City, a great Number of the younger, and some of the meaner Sort of the Inhabitants, ran happily to the Gates, and shut them, loudly denying Entrance to such Guests, and obstinately refusing Obedience to us. At first we were amazed at the Enterprize, and apprehensive of the many ill Circumstances and Consequences that might result from so rash an Undertaking: But, since that, having received repeated Advertisements of the general Design, and particular Informations, which may rationally induce us to believe it; and being credibly assured, that, under the Pretence of Six Companies to quarter amongst us, a vast Swarm of Highland and *Irish* Papists were on the Ways and Roads approaching to us; that some of the Popish Clergy in our Neighbourhood had bought up Arms, and provided an unusual Furniture of Iron Chains for Bridles (whereof Sixty were bespoke in One Place), and some of them seized, and now in our Custody; we began to consider it as an especial Instance of God's Mercy towards us, that we were not delivered over as a Prey unto them; and that it pleased him to stir up the Spirits of the People so unexpectedly to provide for their

and our common Safety and Preservation: Wherefore we do declare and remonstrate to the World, that as we have resolved to stand upon our Guard, and defend our Walls, and not to admit of any Papist whatsoever to quarter amongst us; so we have firmly and sincerely determined to persevere in our Duty and Loyalty to our Sovereign Lord the King, without the least Breach of Mutiny, or seditious Opposition to his Royal Commands. And, since no other Motives have prompt us to this Resolution, but the Preservation of our Lives, and to prevent the Plots and Machinations of the Enemies of the Protestant Religion, we are encouraged to hope, that the Government will vouchsafe a candid and favorable Interpretation of our Proceedings; and that all his Majesty's Protestant Subjects will interpose with their Prayers to God, their Solicitations to the King, and their Advice and Assistance to us, on this so extraordinary and emergent an Occasion; which will not only have an Influence on the rest of the Kingdom, but may have a probable Aspect towards the Interest of the Protestant Religion, and may deserve a favourable Regard from all the Professors thereof in his Majesty's Dominions. God save the King.

*To the Lord Lieutenant.*

WE his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses, in Parliament assembled, do most gladly embrace this Occasion to congratulate your Excellency in your Accession to the sole Government of this Kingdom; and to extol his Majesty's superlative Goodness, in providing for us so much to our Advantage



and Satisfaction. To enumerate the inestimable Pledges of his Majesty's profuse Bounty to, and unwearied Care of, this poor Kingdom (illustrated by the Security and Re-establishment of our Religion, Liberty, Peace, Plenty, and Prosperity), were a Task no less difficult to be performed, than unnecessary to be repeated before your Excellency and the World. The glorious Victories obtained by him in the Reduction of *Ireland*, may be imputed to his glowing Zeal for Religion, and a Resolution to extirpate Idolatry and Superstition from among us. His unparallel'd Actions and Achievements, beyond the Seas, may be attributed to his Excess of Courage, and a compassionate Resentment of the Affronts and Injuries done to his Friends and Allies. But his Designation of your Excellency to be our chief Governor, is an Act of Kindness so transcendent, so peculiarly demonstrative of his generous Indulgence to us, that no Words can qualify us to make an Acknowledgement, in any measure, proportionate to the Benefit. Upon other Occasions, the King hath manifested himself to be our Champion, our Protector, our Restorer; but in this, he hath condescended to be our Patron, and to treat us as our Friend. He hath given us our Heart's Desire, and placed the supreme Authority in him, whose steady Loyalty, unblemished Honour, and disinterested Inclinations to promote the Welfare of this Kingdom, surmount even our Hopes, and supersede all Solitude in seeking, or Fear of missing, what may infallibly conduce to our future Felicity and Repose.

Neither must we omit the Recognition of our sincere and hearty Thanks to their Excellencies the present Lords Justices of *England*, who, amidst their most important Care for the Safety and Tranquillity of his Majesty's Kingdoms and Dominions, have, with so much Concernment and Expedition

pedition, dispatched and returned such Bills, as were from hence transmitted to them.

It is our Duty, and our Interest, to exert our utmost Skill, and employ our best Faculties, in making Returns, correspondent to the Obligations laid upon us; and so to demean ourselves, in the Transaction of all Affairs, which shall come under the Cognizance and Discussion of this Parliament, that no Advantage be given to the King's and our Enemies to encroach upon us: No Opportunity lost, by a supine Negligence, to improve the Methods contrived and proposed for the common Good: That the King's gracious Intentions, and the Lord Deputy's generous Purpose, to establish our Safety, and advance our Reputation, be not frustrated by a vain and obstinate Pursuit of Humour, Passion, and unwarrantable Notions; but that by our calm Debates, our judicious and impartial Proceedings, we may lay a sure Foundation for our present Tranquillity, and, by an indefeasible Tenure, transmit the same to our Posterity.

In the Year of our Lord 1679. a Parliament was to be called in *Ireland*: Bills were transmitted into *England*, and Writs prepared for Election of the Members. At which time, it pleased his Grace the Lord Duke of *Ormond* to tell me, that he was resolved, that I should be Speaker of the Parliament; and therefore advised me to prepare myself for that Employment. And returning Home, I did, for my own Recreation, and to exercise my Fancy, conceive these following Speeches.

Upon



*Upon the first Nomination of the Speaker.**Gentlemen,*

**I** Cannot but be strangely surpris'd to observe this sudden and hasty Proceeding. I wish this unadvised Entrance into your Business may not prove inauspicious to this high and honourable Assembly: That the King (who hath summoned you from all Corners of the Land, to consult, and contribute your Advice, in the most important Affairs) may not despond of any good Conclusion of your Work, when the Beginning is so justly subject to Reprehension: That the People (who have entrusted you as their Representatives, and selected you from the Number of your Neighbours, because of your singular Sufficiency) may not recant their Votes, and repent their Mission, when they shall hear your first Essay so scandalized by an Error in Judgment.

Gentlemen, think what you do; consider you are now about the Election of your Speaker: An Employment that requires the Accumulation of all the good Qualities diffused and dispersed through the several Members of this Body: A Place! to be filled only by him, who hath gone through the Circle of the liberal Sciences, and who, to the rich Stock of natural Parts, hath superadded the Acquisition of many excellent Endowments. He that presides, and moderates the Disputations of such a political Academy, ought to carry with him the Trophies of Learning, and to be famous for often triumphing for Victory in more inferior Schools and Colleges. But when I look about me, and behold, on every Side, so many Persons of Worth and Honour, so eminent in the Knowledge of the Laws, in the Art of Government, and for a genteel and complete Education; I am  
astonished

astonished to think, what should provoke you to disparage your Reason, by misplacing your Favours upon me, the meanest, and most inconsiderable, of all your Number; who can pretend to nothing, but an unprosperous Loyalty to his Majesty, and an unfertile Zeal for my Country. Therefore I beseech you, Gentlemen, as you tender the Service of the King, your own Credit, and the Advantage of the People (who must innocently suffer under the ill Consequences of such a Resolution), betake yourselves to another Election, and lay the Burden of this Honour upon him, that is better able to bear it; while I struggle against it, out of no lazy Unwillingness to serve my King and Country; or a Fear to expose my Life and Fortunes, under the Commands of this honourable House; but from a bashful Conscience of my own Infirmities, and an utter Incapacity to undergo so great a Charge.

*Upon presenting the Speaker to the Lord Lieutenant.*

*May it please your Grace,*

**I** Am brought to this Bar by the Sentence of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses, assembled in the Commons House, and, by a preposterous Act of Favour, exposed to the public Hazard of a dormant Reputation. Here I stand, great Sir, to expect my Doom from your Lips: May that unparalleled Generosity, and most steady Loyalty, that hath actuated you in all the wonderful and perilous Traverses of your Life, incline you still to postpone all other Considerations to the Advancement of the King's Honour, and the Good of his People. As, on the one Side, it would be a barbarous Ingratitude in me, to challenge the Prudence, or suspect the Candor, of those worthy Gentlemen, who have designed me to  
this



this Credit, and presented me here under the Addition of so great Honour, as to be Speaker to such an Assembly; so, on the other, I should join in a Conspiracy against myself, and be for ever barred from all Retreats of Excuse or Pity, if I do not now demur to the Return, and strive to vacate this Presentment, by assigning the many Errors, arising from my notorious Insufficiency for so bold an Undertaking. The Ingenuity of that Painter is commended (howsoever the Effect proved contrary to the Design), who, to draw a complete Beauty, would borrow an Eye from one, a Lip from another, and a Hand from a third; and ought to be imitated in this Choice, where the Wit, the Learning, the Gravity, the Apprehension, and the Rhetoric, of each individual Member of the House, amassed and centred in one Person, were all little enough to make him a Candidate for this Employment. I pretend to no deeper Knowledge, than that of my own Infirmities, and (except that Confession may be wrested to a tacit Insinuation of my greater Skill,) I cannot apprehend, what Arguments may induce your Grace to consent to this Rape, committed on my chaste and blushing Obscurity; unless I might hope, that such an Exaltation from too near a View might be attended with the same Success, which beset the Work of a curious Artist, who contrived a Statue for a Nobleman's Gate in such a Posture, that, near Hand, it was only a rude and unformed Piece of Timber, but, advanced to a higher Distance, it reflected the Lineaments of a handsome and well proportioned Person.

But why should I be so long a Speaker for myself? I retire now to my Supplication, and to the Strength I trust to, in your matchless Judgment and Goodness. I do most earnestly and submissively beseech your Grace, to consider the Condition of this poor Kingdom, (of which you deservedly have

so great a Share); to remember the Honour and Prosperity of the King (and that is a Name, that ever was an irresistible Charm to your Grace); and, that the Counsels and Determinations of this Parliament, may receive no Blemish from the invincible Defects of so weak a Manager, that your Grace will direct the Commons to return to their House, to try the Success of second Thoughts, and to present one of the great many among them, more advantageously qualified to do Service to his King and Country.

*Upon the Lord Lieutenant's Approbation of the Speaker.*

*Great Sir,*

**W**ITH an humble Resignation, and an intire Obedience, I do submit to your Commands. The Honour you have done me, is arbitrary and unmerited: Therefore the Expression of my Gratitude must be unusual and extravagant. Sir, I do most humbly thank your Grace, for this strange Instance of your Favour, this Paradox in Kindness; even the flat Denial of what I requested.

It is not to be imagined, what a wonderful Charm there is in the Breath of Princes: While poor dull Mortals do toil and tire themselves by Study and Travel, by Learning and Experiments, to patch up a Stock of some tolerable Abilities, to qualify them for Preferment; they that govern Kingdoms, can, in a Moment, exalt us from despicable Meaness, to an eminent Station; they can, by a kind of State Alchemy, refine and sublimate the drossest Metal; and (as if even in that, they contended to imitate Him, by whom Kings reign) they seem to delight in forming the first Rank of their Creatures out of such a Chaos, as is nearest to nothing. Certainly no



Bubbles of Ambition could have swelled me to so huge an Expectation; I durst never have adventured in this Ocean of Business, to swim upon the Bladders of my own Strength. But, Sir, I will strive to keep an humble Pace with your generous Inclinations towards me; I will endeavor, by the Power of Fancy, to transfigure myself, and, in some modest Proportion, to resemble the Character you have fixed on me.

It is reported of *Æsop* (that Prodigy of Wit, and Monster in Shape); that, being demanded, When the Times would be in the greatest Confusion? he made Answer, When the Dead shall arise, and every Man claim his antient Inheritance. The Passages and Transactions of late Years, which have occurred upon the promoting of the Settlement of *Ireland*, may not improperly be deemed the Solution of *Æsop's* Riddle, the Completion of his Prophecy; where the Awakening of dormant Titles, the Resurrection of dead and long-intombed Charters, the Reviving of obsolete Patents, the Furbishing of old Parchments with new Clauses, and Dressing up of a fresh Design in the Habit of a Moth-eaten Settlement, would certainly have involved us in a Confusion not to be expressed; had not our Royal Sovereign, by the reasonable Interposition of Advice and Counsel from your Grace, prescribed a plausible Way to obviate such a growing and luxuriant Mischief. But the Danger is not yet over, the Plot against our Properties is not yet fully discovered. Therefore our gracious King, of his superabundant Goodness, hath assembled this Parliament, to consult their own Safety, to provide for the universal Security and Advantage of the Kingdom, by enacting such Laws, as may probably extinguish all Disputes in the present Times, and prevent all Confusion in the future.

It

It were my Duty here, to enumerate the Praises of our dear and dread Sovereign Lord the King; to be profuse in the recounting his rare Virtues and Qualities; to tempt the Patience of them that hear me, by recapitulating his many Acts of Grace and Bounty to this his poor, but most loyal Kingdom; and, in the Name of the People (for whose Representatives I have the Honour to speak), to rejoice with Transport, on Reflection upon the various Instances of Felicity we enjoy under his most gentle, wise, and peaceable Government: But this were to use the Language of every one that can speak, and superfluously to labour the Conviction of them, who never entertained a Scruple. I might expatiate, in representing his Royal Extraction; the Confluence of several and jarring Titles, to the Establishing of his Throne over us; the numerous Scenes of his Sufferings; his tedious Exile; his firm Perseverance in Religion, amidst the open Batteries of its avowed Enemies, and the subtle Mines of secret Adversaries, when the Probability of no other Way of Restitution might rationally have been both his Temptation and Excuse; his pious Resolution not to sit in the Throne, rather than be ushered into it by the Assistance of Foreigners, when the Recovery of a Crown might fairly have warranted a politic Temporizing with any Nation or Profession; his perilous Adventures in *Scotland*, when his loyal Subjects there were depressed, and prevailing Factions might have made his Ruin the Earnest of their Agreement; his unimitable Courage, and personal Valour, at *Worcester*, when he set his Sacred Person at stake, against the worthless Rabble of Plebeians; the astonishing History of his Escape; the Miracle of his Restoration; and the Mercy, bordering upon a Miracle, that he was not restored by any other Means; neither by his Catholic, nor his Covenanting Subjects. I might remember,



that he is the Head and Heart of our Religion; that he defends and supports our Faith, not out of any Mode, or politic Design; but out of clear Judgment and Affection; that he is the Son of a Saint; that his Father was the Royal Martyr for the Protestant Religion; and he is the illustrious Confessor. But I do not speak before Strangers and Foreigners; all that hear me will bear Witness to the Truth of what I have said; it is as undeniable as a mathematical Demonstration.

And should I attempt a Panegyric on your unexampled Merits (most Noble Sir!) the Conscience of all that are present would acquit me from the Imputation of Flattery: But this is a Theme so large, this is a Topic so copious, that I should be bewildered in the Variety of Paths, that lead to the Commemoration of your most renowned Acts and Achievements: The glorious Passages of your Life are not circumscribed within the scanty Limits of *Ireland*; the Pillars dedicated to your Honour are not reared upon the Memory of single and transient Performances; you are not beholden to the Pen or Tongue of your Favourites or Dependents: No! Your Praise is diffused by the loud Trumpet of Fame; the Testimonials of it are exemplified through the Christian World; and every great and good Man is an emulous Admirer of your Actions. Many that hear me, have seen, and all of us have heard, how difficult and perplex a Task you underwent, in your first Government of this Kingdom; with how exact a Prudence, and an impregnable Fidelity, you proceeded; when, being allured by Profit, pushed on by Danger, assaulted on each Hand by contrary Interests, and being at once cajoled by the Rump, betrayed by the Nuncio, and deserted by your own; you never abandoned the Kingdom, till there was no Place left, whereon to set your Foot; you  
never

never forsook the Steerage, till the Vessel was split. And was it not enough, Sir, to be divested of your Estate? (so vast an Estate!) banished from your Country? discontinued from your Rule? and separated from your dearest Consort? But you must super-errogate in Loyalty, expose yourself under Disguises, and adventure your Person into the Tyrant's Clutches, only to advance the Service of your Prince? We have since observed your even and unconcerned Deportment, under the Vicissitude of State Affairs; neither elated by a Promotion to the highest Trust, nor discomposed by a Removal (as *Camillus*, that noble *Roman*, said of himself, *Nec mihi Dictatura animos fecit, nec Exilium ademit*). But, Sir, you do inherit Loyalty by Descent; no Earl of *Ormond* was ever yet attainted, nor, in so many Centuries of Years, registred in actual Service against the Crown: I challenge all the Heralds and Chronologers in the World, to match this short Note out of History: *James* Earl of *Ormond* (the direct and lineal Ancestor of the present *James* Duke of *Ormond*), Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, Three hundred and Fifty Years since. And how you have walked in these slippery Times (when many noble and great Persons, have wandered in their excentric Motions), still fixt upon the true Basis of Honour and Allegiance, After-ages shall with Admiration recount. If I thought any Man were ignorant, I would tell him, That never Prince had a more loyal Subject; no Kingdom a more excellent Governor; no Wife a more indulgent Husband; no Children a more tender Father; no Servants a more liberal Master; no Followers a more bountiful Patron: I pray God, to reward your Grace with reciprocal Honour, and correspondent Returns, from all those several Relatives: That as the King, not wearied with your Excess of Merits, doth still persevere in his Esteem of you; and as Honour and Loyalty seem to be the logical Properties of



of your Family, and are eminently entailed on your Issue; so every Man, to whom you have been a Benefactor (and certainly the Catalogue of those will swell to a huge Bulk), may do themselves Right, by an effectual Proof of their Gratitude; and that the People of this Land may timely see the Happiness (too much Happiness, if they understood it), which they enjoy under your Grace's Administration.

Neither is it an ordinary Joy, or superficial Comfort, to us, to behold your Grace incircled with those Stars of the first Magnitude, the reverend Prelates, and those noble Lords, the elder Sons of Honour, on whom the Beams of Majesty have more directly glanced; who, by their nearer Approaches to the Royal Throne, and being adopted Cousins to the King, yet still retaining an Alliance with the People, are the most competent Arbitrators between Prerogative and Privilege; and surely cannot but be much delighted to observe that old Stock of the House of Commons (from whose Boughs they all have, in their several Seasons, been plucked) still to bloom, and shoot out so many Branches of Loyalty; who, in the Midst of *Ireland*, do retain the Language, the Religion, the Courage, the Manners, and the Laws, of our most dear and famous Mother *England*: And let the Pope curse us, the *Spaniard* fret, and the *Frenchman* jeer us; let the Jesuits contrive Plots against us, and our domestic Enemies promote them; yet the World shall see, that, maugre all their Artifice and Spite, this triple League of King, Lords, Commons, shall not easily be broken or defeated. Methinks, *together*, we represent an exquisite and well-modelled *Palace*: Your Grace set in the *Presence-Chamber*, the Spiritual Lords in the *Chapel*, the Temporal Peers in the *Rooms* of State, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeesses, in the commodious *Chambers of Use and Entertainment*; and all employed for the

the Benefit and Protection of the great Family; while the Fabric, being founded on Equity, reared by Prudence, and cemented by Union, the *King*, the great *Architect*, cannot but behold us with Content and Complacency. Preceding Parliaments have, from some particular Reasons, been denominated the *Long*, the *Good*, the *Happy*, and the *Healing*; this, I trust, shall merit the Epithet of the *Settling Parliament*: Every Interest shall receive its individual Satisfaction; Possession shall be confirmed, Right ascertained, and all future Cavils be for ever barred. The Vices of this Age have occasionally and obliquely produced the same Effects in Civil Government, that the Corruption of Nature hath done in Civil Society: It is not the Intemperance of Weather, nor the Terror of Wolves, and ravenous Beasts, that drive Men into Cities, and fenced Places; it is the Fear of one another, and the Pursuit of common Security, raiseth the Walls, and fortifieth the Bulwarks. To frustrate the greedy Designs of unquiet and avaritious Men, to award Peace and Settlement to the Industrious and Deserving, to prevent the clandestine and sinister Contrivances of fraudulent and unconscionable Persons, this great Assembly is met: And, to provide Remedies convenient and proportionate against the epidemical Infection, and every respective Malady; and for the continuing and increasing the Health and Safety of the Nation, here will be Magisterials and Specifics provided for every Distemper: From hence will be had Antidotes against the *Jesuits Powder*, Preservatives against the Contagion of Popery, Cordials and Recuperatives against Schism and Defection, Purges and Abstersives against peccant Humours, and Diets and Directives for maintaining a wholesome and athletic Habit of Body: So that, if any Phrensy shall distract the People into rebellious Projects, and treasonable Machinations; if any Megrim shall besot



besot with Giddiness and Separation; if any Lethargy shall indispose them, and render them supine and remiss in their Duty to God and the King; from hence must be expected a catholic Cure, by a seasonable Application of preventional and punitive Statutes. From this Magazine the Subject shall be furnished with Arms offensive and defensive; he shall be trained in the Exercise of Duty, and the Discipline of the Law; he shall be safely intrenched against Storms and Sieges, securely guarded against Ambushes and Stratagems, protected against the barbarous Stab of an Assassinate, and the rude Attacks and filching Depredation of Tories and Wood-kerns. Here will be Encouragement given to industrious Artists to exert their Ingenuity in useful Manufactures; to the Tenants of Church-Lands to build and improve their Holdings; to the Successors in Parishes, and Ecclesiastical Dignities, to be provided of an House to live in, without the Detriment of Dilapidations; an indefeasible Security to all new-acquired Estates; and an universal Jubilee to all his Majesty's Subjects, in the confirming and quieting their Possessions. May the Speaker prove a true Prophet! and this Parliament be celebrated with the highest Applause and Honour!

I am now, in the Name and Behalf of the House of Commons, to beseech your Grace, that the antient Customs, and known Privileges, of Parliament may be continued to us: That we may, within the Walls of our own House, enjoy the Freedom of public Debates; and that every particular Member be allowed the Liberty of his own Reason and Argumentation: That when, and as often as, we shall have any important or emergent Occasion to address ourselves to your Grace, you will, at your fittest Season, vouchsafe to us a ready and easy Access: That if, thro' the Default of the Speaker or Reporter, any Misconstruction or Misrepresentation

tion be made of the Sense of the House, they may be admitted to recollect, explain, rectify, or excuse, their Votes and Proceedings: That the Members of the House may reap the full Benefit and Extent of the Common-Law and Statutes relating to their Immunity from Arrests and Suits; that having, by his Majesty's Command, gathered together from all Corners of the Kingdom, and neglected their private Concernments, to attend and advance the public Service, they may at least be secure in their Persons, Estates, Servants, and Goods; and so employ their best Diligence to perform the Duty incumbent on them without any Interruption.

Lastly, for myself I humbly beg, that the Wisdom of the House may not be arraigned for the Failings of their Speaker; that so considerable a Body may not suffer any Prejudice or Dishonour by the natural Defects, or contingent Inadvertency, of One Member. Then I doubt not but the King shall be served, your Grace satisfied, and the Subjects joyed, in the wholesome Counsels, the harmonious Procedure, and happy Determination, of this long-wished-for Parliament.

*Upon the Speaker's Return to the Chair.*

*Gentlemen,*

SINCE you have permitted your Judgment to be thus imposed on, by the Impression of your Will; and that the best of Governors, who now represents the best of Kings, hath gratified your Inclinations, by indulging you in your first Application, suffering his Reason to condescend implicitly to your Proposal, and putting the Seal of his Approbation to your unmerited Choice of me to sit in this Chair (to which probably nothing could have induced him, but a resolved Complaisance with the House of Commons); I am

R

now.



now to implore your favourable Acceptance and Interpretation in my future Endeavours of this your Service; that from my slender Experience in Matters of Government, and Affairs of State, you will not expect so comprehensive a Knowledge, so vigorous a Managery, and so dextrous Address, as you might have found in several of this House, who have had the good Fortune to sit near the Helm, and have not been condemned to the Prejudices of a remote Habitation, and an unactive Life: That you will by your sage Deliberation, and prudent Advice, instruct me, and train me up, in your Negotiations: That, since you have vouchsafed to make me your Mouth, you will infuse into me your own Words, and influence me with your own Sentiments: That whatsoever Error, Impertinence, Mistake of your Sense, or Solecism in Expression, shall escape from me, may wholly be attributed to my Weakness, and covered under the Veil of your Favour and Indulgence.

*Supposing a Bill to be presented, for taking the Test of every Member, in each House of Parliament.*

THE Address, with which I am in Charge to attend your Grace this Day, is the *Irish* Shibboleth, the Touchstone of our Religion, a bright Mirrour, wherein may be seen the Affections of the People, reflecting the Image of their Hearts from the Mouth of their Representatives. It is a comprehensive Union of all differing Persuasions, against the common Enemy of our Peace and Profession. It is a second Protestation of the Protestants; a prudent Stratagem, to countermine the clandestine Approaches of Indulgences and Dispensations; an honest Art, to evacuate the subtle Policies and Machinations of the *Jesuits*; a voluntary Exposing of our

our Souls and Consciences to a public Scrutiny; religiously resolving, that no Man shall enter the Senate-house, who carries hidden and prohibited Arms, a Coat of Mail formed at *Rome*, to secure him against the Impression of the penal Laws; or a Dagger, diabolically consecrated by the Disciples of *Loyola*; or a Knife, made after *Ravillac's* Pattern, with unforeseen Stabs to destroy the Subject, or attempt any Violence on the Person of God's Anointed, or his Lieutenant. Here is no Confederacy, League, or Covenant, to invade Prerogative, to aggrandize Populacy, or subvert the Government of the Church: It was not hatched in a Cabal, agitated in a Coffee-house, promoted by Petitions, or recommended by any Faction: It is the Product of a legal Consultation, countenanced by public Authority, licensed by the King's Approbation, and endeared to us by the Example and Precedent of our dear Mother *England*. Other Bills, by their Method and Custom of passing, are subjected to Questions, Disputes, Amendments, and Alterations, before they can arrive at the Perfection to commence Acts: This, having passed his Courses, and been examined by a regular Disquisition, proceeds to take its Degree, without the Contradiction of one *Non placet*. The Divine will not vouchsafe to bandy an Argument with him, that does not submit to the Authority and Umpirage of the Scripture: The Judge will not hear the Lawyer, who insists on his own Expositions, and is not governed by judged Cases, and the fundamental Maxims of the Law: Every Sophister and Disputant in the Schools, will refuse to continue Discourse with him, that denies the Principles of Philosophy: And is it not great Reason, that the People who intrust their Religion and Property to their Representatives, should have good Caution given for their Candour and Integrity? that they, before they take



upon them to give decisive Votes in Matters relating to Religion and the Church, may make a public Recognition of their Sincerity, and that they are not prepossessed with Opinions destructive to the very Being and Subsistence of it? If in ordinary Trials, for Title or Debt, the Law allows a Liberty to challenge a Juror; if a Witness, whose Indifferency is suspected, shall first be opposed by a *Voir dire*; how mightily does it concern the Safety and Welfare of the Kingdom, that the Two Houses of Parliament (whereof one is the grand Inquisition of the Realm, the other the supreme Judicature) should publicly renounce all Adherents to the Tenets of Popery, and vouch this Test as their common Compurgator?

Hitherto, Sir, this infant Bill has been dandled in our Arms; and, being a Probationer for Preferment, it is the Test of the Parliament: May it please your Grace, by the Royal *Fiat*, to inspirit it to Motion, that it may walk through the Seats and Benches of both Houses; and then, consequently and implicitly, it will prove the Test of the whole Kingdom.

*Supposing several Bills to be presented for the Royal Assent.*

I Have in my Hand a Bundle of Bills, to be presented to your Grace's View, by Command from the House of Commons. They are the Embryon of good Laws, the Offspring of the Parliament, conceived by the Counsel, hatched and brought forth by the sedulous Labour, of both Houses; and here I come to hold them up, to receive their distinct Names from their Royal Godfather, in whose Place you stand. They are in their Shape comely, in their Constitution wholesome,

wholsome, mature in their Lincaments and Proportions; but cannot move, till they are animated by the Royal Breath. Here are Medals of Gold, and Pieces of Silver, cast and hammered in the Mint; but cannot pass without the King's Proclamation: They are yet but Bullion; *that* only can make them go for current Coin. Here are Vessels of great Use and Worth, adapted to the several Occasions of the great Master of the House, and the respective Members of the Household; some for the King's Cup-board, some for the Chapel, and some for the more ordinary Business of the Hall and Kitchen; but none to be valued, till they receive the Touch from the Hand of our Sovereign Say-master. Here is Provision made for our three greatest Interests, Religion, Peace, and Property: Here is Care taken, to accommodate us in all the Circumstances, and most important Concernments, of our Souls, Bodies, and Estates. They have a long time hovered in Non-entity, and are only susceptible of Form: Your Grace may quicken them with a Word, and make them capable to subsist to all Perpetuity. And so forth.

*Upon the Bill for the better settling of Intestates Estates.*

NOTHING could have been contrived more suitable to the Wisdom and Care of those that sit at the Helm of Government, nothing more worthy the Consideration of this House, than this Bill now read before us. The Disputes, Charges, and Inconveniencies, that hitherto have arisen, for want of those Cautions and Remedies provided by this Bill, are so infinite, that they cannot be enumerated in so short a time, as Modesty prescribes me to recount them in;  
nor



nor by one so unfit to manage a Discourse of such Importance, and so little conversant in public Transactions. How many have been precipitated by a violent Death? surprised by an acute Distemper? beguiled by a malignant Disease? divided by an unsteady Resolution? hardened by a stubborn Obstinacy? abused by an unnatural Indifferency? cheated by a Confidence of Recovery? blinded by a glutinous adhering to transitory Possessions? affrighted with the ominous Employment of making their last Will and Testament? and so, by omitting the necessary Duty of settling their Estate, have only entailed Trouble and Contention on their Successors, which seldom is extinguished, but by the Ruin of both Competitors? the Defunct being defeated of that Rest which is expected in the Grave, and the Survivors becoming a Prey to the Talons of some Neighbour Vultur. How many, by this Inadvertency, have become Heirs to the Estates of those, who would not have bequeathed them the Favour of a Legacy? How many, by this Neglect, have been disappointed of that Inheritance, of which they would have given very little for the Insurance? Very often has the Fable of the Mouse and Frog been moralized in ridiculous Duels on this Occasion, and both swallowed up by the attending Eagle: Often has the Fate of the Gaming-house befallen the unhappy Litigants, where both Sides find themselves Losers, and the Box has all the Gain. And so forth.

*Upon an Act for Prevention of Frauds and Perjuries.*

**T**HIS Bill (with Shame and Concernment I speak it,) seems to be exactly calculated for our Meridian: The treacherous Practices, and villainous Designs, of evil Men, have brought Fraud into a fashionable Mode: The prosperous Success,

Success, and frequent Impunity, of bold Sinners, hath made Perjury become a Vice almost epidemical: And as those of *Crete* were justly branded with the Nickname of Lyars; so the Men of *Ireland* (I wish I could restrain it, without Partiality, only to the Natives) have too evident a Title to that inglorious Epithet of *Perjured*. Force, and open Violence, which of late Years, have been the distinguishing Characters of *Ireland's* Misery, have now shifted the Scene; and, in their room, close Contrivances, and undermining Fraud, have entered and traversed the Stage without Interruption. The cheap, loud, and needless Custom of *Cursing* and *Swearing*, is now outdone by the profitable, secret, and useful Habit of *Forswearing*; and, by a comparative Allay, the one is accounted venial, and rather a genteel Quality, because it is not so mortally pernicious as the other. The ill Effects of Swearing terminate in the Stain of the slippery Tongue that utters it; but Perjury involves the Actor in Self-destruction, and aggravates it with the concomitant Ruin of another Person. Were this crying Sin acted only among the Ignorant, and in inferior Courts, the Danger were not so much, nor the Scandal so great: But, alas! it has taken Quarters in the City; it has rambled through all the Courts; and we have seen the Fiend barefaced, and mounted in a Box, and the Titles of Estates determined by the bigger Number of contradictory Oaths. The Fraudulent and the Perjured go Hand in Hand, and are joint Partners and Sharers in all dishonest and insidious Enterprizes: The one skirmisheth in the Van; the other brings up the Rear: Oaths are the Mouth-granadoes, and Perjury sets Fire to the Mine: One is the little Thief that looks you in the Face, and picks your Pocket; the other is the huffing Hector, that raps you into a Belief of his arbitrary Assertions: They are the monstrous  
Twins



Twins of the old Enemy; they walk in the Dark; they operate like Poison; and it is hard to trace them in their Proceedings: While the profane and irreligious Man, ungratefully breaks the Commands of his Prince, and despises the Law he lives under; the Fraudulent puts a Muzzle upon his Conscience, lays a Siege against Heaven; and the perjured Man openly defies it. But Good is ordinarily and accidentally the Effect of Evil; and as Peace is the Daughter of War, so good Laws are the Offspring of Crimes and Enormities; and well may we here expect the safe Production of the Issue, when the Parents are so numerous and prolific. The Piety and Integrity of our chief Governor and Council do manifestly appear in the Design of this Law, as well as their eminent Prudence, and tender Care of this Kingdom. Other Bills may admit of Debates, be committed, altered, and amended: This, which so directly tends to the Honour of God and the Safety of us all, let it be ingrossed, and made ready for the third Reading.

*Upon the Bill for confirming the Acts made in the last Parliament held for this Kingdom.*

**H**E that will consult the Chronicles, and turn over the Statute-Books, of *England* and *Ireland*, and diligently observe what Laws have been enacted in one Age, directly contrary to those established in another; how not only in divers, but in one and the same King's Reign, Statutes have been made and repealed, as the Humour of Men, or Necessity of Affairs, or Alteration of Times and Accidents, did prompt; cannot but look upon the Purport of this Bill now before us, not only to be a public Recognition of the well-advised Proceedings of the last Parliament, but an harmonious Expres-

sion of our Candour and Compliance with their Sense. Not to make Mention of the calamitous Times, when *Edward* the Fourth, and *Henry* the Sixth, took their Turns upon the Stage, and so often jostled one another out of the Throne, (so that he, who this Year was a loyal Subject, and adhered to the Interest of his Prince, the next Year became a Traitor, and was denounced a Rebel; the Parliaments alternately damning and abolishing one another's Acts, and all upon Account of Title to the Crown): To say nothing of *Henry* the Eighth, the first Part of whose Reign brought forth such Acts, as purchased to him the glorious Title of *Defender of the Faith*; while those of his later Years procured to him, and his Subjects, the ignominious Brand of *Heretic*; Religion, being thus reformed and planted by him, and cultivated by his illustrious Successor, was quite changed and overturned in the short time of Queen *Mary*, and again restored, and wonderfully improved, in the long and happy Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; which frequent Mutations in point of Religion, must needs produce many repugnant and contradictory Laws: We may read, how in Matters of less Importance, than Title to a Kingdom, or Profession of Faith, that Act, which in one King's Time has passed, hath been repealed in another; that abolished in the next; and in the succeeding Age that abrogated; and at last, that being made null, the first remained in being: So that, by Repealing of a Repeal, sometimes the first Act is revived; sometimes, by reviving of an Act repealed, the Act of Repeal is made of no Force. But now we shall not be put to unlearn, in this Parliament, what we were taught in the former; this Act will confirm what was contrived before, and temporary Laws will be made, hereby, lasting and perpetual. And so forth.



*Upon the Bill, for taking away the Benefit of Clergy, from him that doth stab another, having not a Weapon drawn.*

THE Frame and Contexture of this Bill is so exactly correspondent to the Law of God, so agreeable to the Law of Nature, and so concurring with the Law in *England*; founded upon Religion, promoted by Reason, and recommended upon the Principles of Safety and Policy; that it needs no Prologue to usher it into this House, nor no Apology to render it acceptable to us, and to the People, whom we represent. If this preventional Security of our Persons, against violent Assaults, and barbarous Attempts, be not a sufficient Motive to commend this Law; let the sad Experience of those dismal Effects, which every Year hath produced in every Country, for want of this Caution, awaken us to a quick and chearful Dispatch of so equal and necessary a Work. How many horrid Murders have escaped unpunished by the extenuating Allay of Manslaughter? How many malicious Assassins have been disguised under the specious Excuse of an accidental Rencontre? while premeditated and wilful Killing has passed under the Veil of Chance-medley, and rash and cruel Bloodsheds have been committed by the Pretence of *Se defendendo*: The unarmed Man has been adjudged to be the Self-homicide, and to fall upon the Sword of him, that holds it naked in his Hand; and then a little Singeing of the brawny Part of the Thumb is a Composition for the fatal Twisting of the Neck. Thus the Benefit of the Clergy hath tended to the Destruction of Mankind; the Reading of a Verse has proved an Amulet against the Gallows; and the black Murderer

Murderer is cleared, acquitted, and set at Liberty, by the omnipotent Virtue of three Words, *Legit ut Clericus*. This Custom was introduced of old, for the Encouragement of Learning and Letters; and the Reading in a Book was allowed as a convenient Commutation for flying to the City of Refuge, or to the Horns of the Altar: And we need not fear, that the Abridgment of that Law, in this Particular, shall countenance Men to be illiterate; it will only restrain the unbridled Fury of Men transported by Rage and Passion, and compose that ungentle inhuman Quality of assailing the defenceless and naked, which first was practised by Cain in his unnatural Fratricide; and never repeated, but by such desperate Persons as have renounced their Title to Manhood and Morality.

When this Bill shall commence an Act, and be promulgated as a Law, it will save much Trouble to the curious and inquisitive Judges, whose Directions are very often amused by the different Interpretation of the Law in this Case: It will give much Satisfaction to the scrupulous Conscience of the Jurors, who, being perplexed by the jarring Circumstances arising out of the Evidence, either become blindfold and irresolute in their Judgments, or unfortunate in pronouncing an unequal and mistaken Verdict: This will give Warning to all sorts of Men, to be moderate and circumspect in their Conversation, and, with all Industry, to beware that neither the Frensy of sudden Wrath, nor the Witchery of too much Drink, expose them to the Perpetration of such Outrages, as calm Reason, and sober Consideration, would abhor, were there no Law to forbid it. And so forth.



*Upon the Bill, that the bringing in of counterfeit Coin into this Realm, or counterfeiting the same here, or clipping, filing, or diminishing the same, shall be High Treason.*

THE Corruption in Coin is a certain Token of the Decay and Consumption of the State ; as, on the other Side, the Purity and Largeness of the Money is a clear Argument of the Vigour, Wealth, and Prosperity, of a Kingdom. Gold and Silver are in themselves but a Commodity ; the King's Authority makes them the Standard and Measure of all Trade and Commerce : If then the current Coin be falsified in its Substance, or impaired in its Weight, there is no Certainty in Trade ; no Man knows his Wealth, or can be assured of the Value of his Stock ; the Cheat is universal, and so is the Detriment. The antient Law against counterfeiting or diminishing the King's Coin is sufficiently severe, making it Treason, and a capital Offence : And, indeed, what Act can be more disingenuous, or more presuming, than to imprint the King's Effigies upon false Metal ? What can be more base and treacherous, than to make the Royal Stamp to justify an insufficient Piece of Money ? It makes the Prince's Face to blush, whensoever it is produced as a Warrant to make false or too light Coin to pass. It was generously said by the Gothish King, *Omnino monetae integritas queri debet, ubi vultus noster imprimitur* : He that clips or diminisheth the current Money, commits a Mayhem upon Authority, and mutilates the supreme Magistrate : He that affixeth the Superscription of his Sovereign to counterfeit Coin, makes the Image of his Prince a Foil to his Villainy, and defrauds his Neighbour *cum privilegio*. But hitherto the  
Danger

Danger and Penalty of this Law hath been evaded: The greatest of the Money current in this Kingdom is coined in foreign Countries; so that the diminishing or multiplying, in which themselves are equally criminal, amount to no more than a fineable Misdemeanour: The bringing in, or venting of a Pewter-Cobb, marked with *Hercules' Pillars*, or a brass Ducatoon honoured with the Face of a *German Prince*, meets with no greater Punishment, than a Composition with the injured Party, for the supposed Value, or the nailing of the counterfeit Piece to the Threshold of the impartial Magistrate of the Place. But this Bill provides a Remedy proportionate to such a growing Inconvenience: The King's Mint shall not hereafter be represented by the Smith's Anvil, nor the Trade of a Tinker get more Employment than the Goldsmith; the Money-makers in                      and shall meet no more Encouragement to vent their bastard Metal, and fill the Country with spurious and adulterated Coin. And so forth.

*Upon the Bill for the taking and killing of Tories and Wood-kerns; and bringing to Justice those that are not amenable to Law.*

**A**Mong the many seasonable and wholesome Bills contrived and transmitted by the Sagacity and Diligence of the Chief Governor of this Kingdom, and Privy-Council, no one seems more naturally adapted to the Necessities of it, than this now lying before us. Other Acts may be but the Transcript of the Acts made in *England*; or, if created here upon a common or emergent Occasion, may be without Disparagement copied and imitated there: But this is appropriated



priated to *Ireland*; it can have no Operation elsewhere: It were as vain and needless to propose it in the Parliament in *England*, as to offer a Bill here for the Destruction of Toads and Frogs: Each Country is infested with the contrary Vermin; and, were the Title of this Bill fixed upon the Posts in the *Exchange* at *London*, it would be no more understood, than a Law to suppress Brogues and Brackins, or to prohibit Coshing and Comerick; the Names of *Tories* and *Wood-kerns* would sound as strange there, as the old Act to abolish the Words *Cromabo* and *Butlerabo*. The horrid Cruelties, the ugly Murders, the innumerable Stealths and Robberies, that have been committed in this Kingdom, since the happy Restoration, and under the peaceable Government of our most dear and most renowned King, might vie an Account with the general Devastation in the last Rebellion: The treacherous, disingenuous, and bloody Proceedings of the Tories in this Country, do make the Method and Custom of the Robbers in *England* to be looked on as a civil Treatment; and do, in some degree, justify their softer Denomination of Highway-Lawyers. New and extraordinary Crimes do require unusual and unpractised Remedies: This lawless Generation of Vipers, this detestable Knot of Banditti, provokes our Invention to devise some Act agreeable to the Singularity of the Occasion; and rather fitted to the Extravagancy of the Offender, than warranted by the known and common Law of the Land: As a wary General draws up his Men, and alters the Form of his fighting, according to the Order and Motion of his Enemy; and a Stratagem, or Ambuscado, is extolled in him, which, in ordinary Conversation would be stiled a Cheat or Circumvention; so the Physician applies a desperate Cure to a desperate Disease; and Amputations must be used to cure a Gangrene, when a Cobweb will serve to heal a cut Finger. And so forth.

*Upon the Bill to enable Bishops, and other Ecclesiastical Persons, to set Leases for Lives.*

THOUGH the direful Effects of the last intestine War in this Kingdom were most visible and remarkable, not only in the Burning of Houses, and Depopulating of Villages, but also in the utter Ruin and Destruction of all *English* Plantations; yet no sooner were the Waters of Blood abated, and the peaceful Dove had found a dry Place to set her Foot on, but Men began to creep out from their Recesses, and enter into their old Possessions, and till their Grounds, and cultivate their Farms, and adorn their Demesnes with all decent and useful Improvements; with a generous Emulation, striving to imitate *England*; so that, in many Parts of this Country, the Copy may vie with the Original; and the sole Advantage our Neighbours can pretend to above us, must be attributed to Time, the long Duration of their Endeavors, and that they have not been interrupted by barbarous Burning and Depopulation. But while in all Corners of the Land we behold the old Proprietors rebuilding their ruined Houses, replanting their decayed Orchards; those that have acquired new Estates using all ingenious Arts to advance Pleasure and Profit, and embellishing their Seats with all the Additions of Convenience and Curiosity; only the Patrimony of the Church is at a Stand: It looks like a barren Soil, and waste Ground, beholden only to Nature, and no way advantaged by Industry: The Cause whereof can no way be imputed to the Reverend Fathers of the Church, whose paternal Care of their Flocks does no way indispose them to an oeconomical Providence

for



for their Estates and Tenants: But this Inconvenience ariseth plainly from the Nature of their Tenure, and from that Restriction which is incident to all Men that are but Tenants for Life. But this Bill hath provided a noble and brave Remedy against the universal Check upon Improvements in ecclesiastical Holdings; the Tenants of the spiritual Lands shall have equal Encouragement with the Temporal; they shall not fear, that the erecting of a great House shall be a Means to alien the Land it stands on, or that they shall improve their Plantations to the Removal of their Posterity, or that their Building shall become a Fort to keep out their Heirs from succeeding them: They shall sit down in Peace, and rest in Security, and transmit to their Heirs a hopeful and indefeasible Perpetuity. And so forth.

*Upon the Bill to disable Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament.*

**H**itherto the sanguinary and penal Laws against Papists have been but picquering, shooting at Random; darting at them from a great Distance: This Act comes close up, it enters into, grapples, and wounds them under the fifth Rib. Hitherto *Poyning's* Law has been our Watch-tower, and Outwork. This Act will prove our strongest Retrenchments, and fortify the Walls of our Religion, and render it impregnable. And though that Statute was with singular Prudence contrived, only in reference to secular Matters, and to secure the Allegiance of this Kingdom to the Sceptre of *England* (for then we had not reformed from the Corruptions and Innovations of the Church of *Rome*); yet it has collaterally proved an excellent Antidote against the Poison of

of Popery; frustrating and defeating all Attempts to introduce a Law here, in Favour of that Religion, since it must first be subjected to the Test and Scrutiny of the Council there. And though a Bill cannot originally rise here, nor walk in these Houses, without a Passport from thence, yet we are not divested of a judiciary Power, nor disabled to reject what is repugnant to our Sense and Liking: Therefore this Act doth opportunely obviate all Dangers that may accrue from a Parity of Votes, and an Equality of Interest; excluding all such from sitting in Parliament, who truckle under a spurious Supremacy, and give the Deference to the Triple Crown, and magnify the Council of *Trent* beyond the Privy-Council.

We cannot forget that hellish Powder Plot, the Transcript of *Caligula's* Inhumanity: Their diabolical Malice did as far exceed his, as a Practice and Endeavour does exceed a Wish and a Thought; designing at one Stroke to destroy Religion, by cutting off the Head of the Defender; to overturn Government, by tripping up the Supporters; and to confound the People, by blowing up their Representatives. Now, since this Act doth debar them from entering within these Walls, who are actuated by the same Principles, and doth take from them all Opportunity of an open and public Invasion of the established Religion, or sly Seducing of us by false Lights; let us search the Vaults and Cellars, and carefully provide, that no Materials be permitted to be stowed under us, least they be employed to supplant us; nor no *Faux* be permitted to ramble in his Night-walk, and to betray us with a dark Lantern. And so forth.



*Upon the Bill, for granting of Two hundred Thousand Pounds to his Majesty.*

WE are not still on the craving Side; we come now to give: We have not prigg'd with the King, nor trucked our Money for our Privileges; we have not addressed ourselves with a Schedule of Grievances in one Hand, and a Bill for Subsidies in the other. The King has been pleas'd to establish our Laws by his Vicegerent's Mouth, to confirm our Acts, and to indulge our Desires; and his most loyal Subjects of the Commons House have here prepared this mean, but sincere Memorial and Pledge of their Gratitude and Duty, comprehended in an Act for the Granting of Two hundred thousand Pounds to his Majesty. Let the Promoters of arbitrary Government say what they will; let them extol the *French* Polity, and make the great *Monsieur* equal to the *Grand Signor*, and extinguish all Property, in the irresistible Torrent of despotical Dominion; let them magnify the Methods of that Empire, where the Key of every Man's Coffer is tied to his Sovereign's Girdle, and the Prince becomes Heir General to all his Subjects; yet all impartial Spectators shall give the Deference to the *English* Customs, and award uncontrollable Felicity to our King, whose Subjects are never impoverished by their Aids and Supplies given to him; the Exhalations drawn from their Benevolence being dissolved by the Warmth of his Favour, and descending in Showers of Bounty and Goodness on his People. It was not the Sacrifice of an Hecatomb, but the Sincerity of the Oblation, that pleas'd the Deity: It is not the costly erecting of Temples, the curious adorning of Altars, the expensive Consumption of Incense and Gums, that

that render Religion acceptable to him they worship, but the Forwardness, the Zeal, and the Integrity, of the Votary. And so we please ourselves with a confident Assurance, that the Candour and Loyalty of our Hearts and Intentions to his Sacred Majesty will be represented so much to our Advantage, that he may be pleased graciously to accept this small Present, bearing no Proportion with his transcendent Merits, but in all Humility offered as an Earnest of our future Performance, and a firm Resolution to serve his Majesty with our Lives and Fortunes. And so forth.

*Upon the Bill, for the better Observation of the Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday.*

IT is no ordinary Blemish to the Professors of the Christian Religion, nor no small Dissuasive to those that worship a false God, or the true God falsely, from becoming Profelytes and Converts, to observe the general Coldness, Indifferency, and Irreligion, in the Assertors and Sticklers for it. Neither is there any one Instance of their Lukewarmness and Negligence more palpable, and more pregnant, than a lazy, niggardly, and restive Humour, in slighting or misemploying the Solemnity of the Day appointed for the Commemoration of their greatest Happiness: While Men, following the unequal Dictates of their own perverted Will, do not only trample upon Religion and Law, but do affix an indelible Scandal upon all that pretend to the same Persuasion. The *Jews*, who with so exact a Strictness, and such Variety of Ceremonies, do celebrate the Memory of their Creation; how justly do they reproach us with a supine and chilly Devotion, with a profane and dissolute Desecration of the Day of our Redemption? The Separatists from the Communion



of the Church, who contend for the Morality of keeping the Sabbath, with too much Reason decry our atheistical Incivility, in not paying a due Respect and Reverence to the Lord's Day. Even the Papists do shame and outdo us, who dedicate one Half of the Day to the public Service, tho' they mis-spend the other in Pastimes and secular Employments: While we, neither giving Honour to our Maker, nor Thanks to our Saviour, do fashionably submit to a Cessation from manual Labour, but give no Rest to the Service of our Senses; nor do discover any Distinction between *Sunday* and *Saturday*, but by shutting up of our Shops, and putting on our best Apparel. And because neither the Law promulgated by *Moses*, the Usage of the primitive Times, nor the Sanctions of our Church, are sufficient Motives to induce the People to comply with so easy a Duty, this Bill is super-added; that, by the Scourge of the Law, Men may be deterred from the accustomed Profanation of this great and universal *Christian* Holiday, and instructed in the better Observation of the Lords Day, commonly called *Sunday*. And so forth.

*Upon the Bill, for taking Affidavits in the Country, to be made Use of in the King's-Bench, Common-Pleas, and Exchequer.*

**I**N the Purview of this Act, the Inconveniencies which occasioned the Framing of it are so fully enumerated, and so rationally enforced, that it were altogether superfluous in me to make any Comment upon so copious and plain a Text.

*Upon*

*Upon the Bill for avoiding unnecessary Suits and  
Delays : And,*

*Upon the Bill for Prevention of trivial and vexa-  
tious Suits in Law.*

THESE Two Bills, the Twins of One Birth, of near Resemblance in their Extent and Operation, stand before you at one time, to receive their Sentence of Approbation, or Rejection : The one points to the Courts and Officers, where Suits are managed ; the other aims at the Extravagancy of him that sues. Sometimes Suits are commenced without any Necessity, and protracted without any Reason : Sometimes they are undertaken upon very slight Grounds, and fomented only out of Humour to vex the Party. Thus do Men often owe their Destruction to the too rash, or too slow, Application of the Physician : Often do sound Men, through Wantonness or Melancholy, physic themselves into a Disease, and, by labouring to remove an imaginary Obstruction, contract a real and unremoveable Distemper. The common Sort of People are naturally so litigious, and prone to Contention, that they are not satisfied with their own, nor pleased quietly and cheaply to recover their Right, unless it be ushered in by a Verdict or Decree, or awarded by the Judgment of another : Nay, even those that sit in the higher Forms, and pretend to Metal and Gallantry, they account it a great Impeachment of their Courage, tamely to submit to an Accommodation ; and prodigally, and vain-gloriously, will throw away a hundred Pounds, rather than be crossed in the Recovery of a Shilling. The Usurer, the Extortioner, and  
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the Oppressor, receive no Satisfaction from a cheap and bloodless Victory, unless the beggar'd Adversary be chained to the Wheels of their triumphant Chariot; and, with as much Profuseness as Cruelty, they care not how they empty their supernumerary Bags, so they may but utterly exhaust the little Purse of their lean Antagonist. Thus the Tumour of the haughty Man is inflamed, the Thirst of the Covetous increased, the Spleen of the Wrangler hardened, the easy Man is wheedled, the rich Man milked, and the poor Man squeezed, and all trepanned into a certain Expence, by the greedy Expectation of an uncertain Success; while the hungry Pettifoggers (the Vermin of the Long Robe, the superfluous Excrescences that spring from that honourable Profession of the Law), stick like Horse-Leaches to the swelling Veins of the incensed Client; and, by attempting to cure the Pleurisy in the Purse, they do, by too much Evacuation, bring the Estate into an incurable Consumption.

But, lest this Expence of your Time, and Delay of your Business, should prove as unnecessary, and my Discourse as trivial, as those things against which I have declaimed; I make it my Motion, that each of these Bills may pass; and that, as they do portend a future Ease and Quiet to the People; so we may admit them without any trivial and vexatious Objections.

*Upon the Bill for the further Security of Estates  
passed upon the late Acts of Settlement and Ex-  
planation.*

LET History be inquired into, both sacred and profane; let the Annals be searched, both foreign and domestic; let the Transactions be canvassed of the greatest Princes, and  
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the wisest Counsels; all will concur in this Report, that human Knowledge is dim, and short-sighted; that the most sage and exquisite Legislators were never able to contrive such a Law, as other Reasons, Accidents, and Circumstances, might not administer some Occasion to Posterity to abolish, alter, amend, confirm, or explain, what was with the greatest Caution, Necessity, and Deliberation, projected by their Ancestors. If mortal Men had an infallible Foresight of Futurities, they might stand fair for the Honour of a divine Attribute; could they, with an intuitive Knowledge, discern Actions and Occurrences, they might be equal to the Angels: But, alas! he that can make a judicious Observation of Things past, and seasonably apply such Precedents to the prudent Managery of his Affairs, does enough to purchase the Denomination of a wise Man: He that can so time his Business, as to make a lucky Use of the present Occasion, and exactly judgeth of what lies before him, is justly stiled a discreet Person. Future Events are written in the dark Leaves of Destiny; and purblind Man cannot read them at a Distance. We ordinarily allow the Deference to second Thoughts, and are not ashamed to owe our Success to the well-playing of an After-game. Wherefore it ought to be no more deemed a Diminution to the Honour, Candour, and Sagacity of the former Parliament, that their Acts are corroborated and improved by this, than it can be accounted an unnecessary Kindness to the Owners of Estates passed and transferred by the late Acts of Settlement and Explanation, to have the Benefit of this Act superadded for their further Security. And so forth.



*Upon the Bill for avoiding Exactions taken upon  
Apprentices in Cities, &c.*

**T**HE great and high Court of Parliament doth not disdain the Care and Consideration of low Things : As it provideth for the Advancement of Religion, the Safety of Life, and the Security of Estates ; so it doth not overlook the Benefit and Convenience of mean Persons : As it prescribes a Punishment for Crimes, and capital Offences ; so it does not neglect to administer a Cure for Peccadillos, and the smallest Irregularities : They do not only, in Duty to the King, labour to establish and advance his Majesty's Revenue ; in Zeal to the Church, enact Laws commodious to ecclesiastical Persons ; in Devotion to Religion, exterminate and seclude the secret and avowed Enemies of it ; in Affection to the Country, contrive Immunity and Protection against Tories and Robbers ; but, in a parental and universal Care, they make Inspection into the Cities and Shops, and consider the Condition of poor Apprentices.

*Upon the Bill for taking away the Writ de Hæretico  
comburendo.*

**I**T may very justly be admired how this dormant Writ hath escaped the Consideration of so many Parliaments ; that they should be amused into so supine a Negligence, not to provide for the Security of their Lives against the Insolence and Capricio of a subordinate Power. That when nothing shall be deemed Treason, but what is declared so by the Statute ; no Man shall be forejudged of Life, or Limb, but by the Law of the Land ; no Man shall be condemned

or found guilty, but by the Tryal of his Peers; nor outed of his Possession arbitrarily, or by Force; yet it shall be in the Power of the Ordinary, and his Commissaries, fortified with the Vote of three or four ecclesiastical Officers, to denounce a Man a Heretic, to commit him to the secular Power; while the one shall adjudge him to sensible and momentary Flames, the other to invisible and everlasting Fire. And howsoever this Writ (being enforced by a Statute, in the Times of gross and dusky Ignorance, when Popery was predominant) may now be thought to need no Abolition; the Bishops, and Rulers of the Church, professing no other Articles of Religion, nor Forms of Worship, than what are allowed and prescribed by the known Laws of the Land; yet certainly it is neither safe, nor prudent, to permit such a Latitude of Power to any Sort of Men, whose Reason may be perverted, whose Constancy may be battered, and whose Judgment is not infallible. We may remember the sad Use was made of an obsolete Statute for finding accumulative Treason (which, having for many Centuries of Years slept undisturbed, among the mouldy Records in the *Tower*, was conjured up for the present Occasion, and then damned to perpetual Disuse and Oblivion); whereby an incomparable Person was made a Victim to the distracted Zeal of the Rabble, and such a Head cut off, as was not to be ransomed by the Price of a Kingdom. We do not know the Humour of the next Age; we are somewhat startled at the Inclinations of this: Let us at least take care, that Men be not hurried to the Stake without a Premonition of the Offence; that our Words and Actions may be weighed at the Standard of the known Laws and Statutes of the Realm, and not condemned by the arbitrary and uncertain Rule of canonical Sanctions: That so he that suffers may not be tormented anew by the partial Censure of the Survivors, blasting

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his Fame with the Brand of a Heretic; while some perhaps may pay to his Memory the untimely and unperceived Reputation of a Martyr. And so forth.

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*Mr. Francis Phylips's Petition to the King, in the behalf of Sir Robert Phylips, his Brother, Prisoner in the Tower.*

*To the King's most Excellent Majesty.*

*Most dread Sovereign,*

**I**F the Thrones of Heaven and Earth were to be solicited one and the same Way, I should have learned, by my often Prayers to God for your Majesty, how to pray to your Majesty for others. But the *Liturgy* of the *Church* and *Court* are different, as in many other Points, so especially in this, that in the *one* there is not so poor a Sinner, but may offer his Prayers immediately to the Almighty; whereas in the *other* a right loyal Subject may not pour out his Zeal, without an \* *Ora pro nobis*. Now such is the obscure Condition of your humble Suppliant, as I know no Saint about your sacred Person to whom I can address my Orisons, or in whose Mediation I dare repose myself with the least Assurance. Let it be therefore lawful for me, in this extraordinary Occasion, to pass the ordinary Forms; and, raising my Spirit above Uncertainties, to fix my intire Faith upon your Majesty's supreme Goodness; which is and ever ought to be esteemed the best Tribunal, and best Sanctuary, for a good Cause: But howsoever my Cause be, it would be high Presumption to stand upon it; I have therefore chosen rather to rest myself at your Majesty's Feet, from

\* N. B. He was of the Church of *Rome*.

whence I would not willingly rise, but there remain a Monument of Sorrow and Humility, till I had obtained some gracious Answer to my Petition.

For though your Thoughts cannot descend so low as to conceive, how much it imports a poor distressed Subject, to be relieved or neglected; yet you may be pleased to believe, that we are as highly affected, and as much anguished, with the Extremities that press our little Fortunes, as Princes are with theirs. I speak not of any Pride I take in comparing small Things with great, but only to dispose your Majesty to a favourable Construction of my Words, if they seem overcharged with Zeal and Affection, or to express more earnestness than perhaps your Majesty thinks the Business merits. For (as myself values it) the Suit I am now to make to your Majesty is no slight one; yet may safely be granted without the Trouble of Referrers. For I assure your Majesty, upon my Life, it is neither against the Law of the Kingdom, nor will diminish any of your Royal Treasures (either that of your Coffers, or that of your People's Hearts); it being only an Act, or rather a Word of Clemency, that will suffice to create in your poor dejected Suppliant a new Heart, and send him away as full of Contentment, as now he is of Grief and Despair. Nor is it for myself that I thus implore your Majesty's Grace; but for one that is far more worthy; and in whom all that I am consists, my dear and only Brother; who (by I know not what Misfortune) hath fallen, or rather been pushed, into your high Displeasure, not in dark or crooked Ways, such as corrupt and ill-affected Subjects use to walk, and were wont to break their Necks in, but even in a great Road, which both himself, and all good *Englishmen* (which knew not the privy Paths of the Court) would have sworn, would have led safely to your Majesty's Service. From your Majesty's Displeasure (than which there needs no other Invention to crucify a good



and honest-minded Subject) hath issued, and been derived upon him, a whole Torrent of exemplary Punishments; wherein his Reputation, Person, and Estate, have grievously suffered. For, having from the last Recess of Parliament retired himself to his poor Home in the Country, with Hope to have breathed awhile after these troublesome Affairs (and still breathing nothing but your Majesty's Service), he was sent for, ere he had finished his *Christmas*, by a Serjeant at Arms, who arrested him in his own House, with as much outward Terror as belongeth to High Treason itself.

But, Thanks be unto God, his Conscience never started; and, for his Obedience, he shewed, it was not in the Authority of any Power to surprise it. For at the Instant, without so much as asking a Minutes Time of Resolution, he remitted himself to the Officer's Discretion, who, according to his Directions, brought him up a Captive, and presented him to the Council-Table as a Delinquent; from whence he was soon committed to the *Tower*, where he hath ever since been kept close Prisoner, and that with so strict a Hand, as his dear-beloved Wife, and myself, having sometimes an urgent and unfeigned Occasion to speak with him, about some private Business of his Family, and thereupon made most humble Suit to the Lords of your Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, for the Favour of Access; we were, to our great Discomforts, denied it, by reason (as their Lordships then pleased to declare unto us) that he had not then fully satisfied your Majesty in some Points; which is so far from being his Fault, as I dare say it is Part of his greatest Affliction, that he is himself debarred from the Means of doing it. The Lords Commissioners that were appointed by your Majesty to examine his Offence, since the first Week of his Imprisonment, have not done him the Honour to be with him; by which means, not only his Body, but the best Part of his Mind, his humble Intentions toward your Majesty, are kept in Restraint.

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May it therefore please your most excellent Majesty, now at Length, after three Months most extreme Durance, to ordain some such Course of Expedition in his Cause as may stand with your *Justice*, and not avert your *Mercy*: EITHER of them will serve our Turn: But that which is most agreeable to your most royal and gracious Inclination, will best accomplish our Desires. To live still in Prison, is all one as to be buried alive; and for a Man that hath any Hope of Salvation, it were better to pray for the Day of Judgment, than to live languishing in such waking Misery. Yet not ours, but your Majesty's Will be done: For if in your princely Wisdom you think it not yet seasonable to restore him to his former Condition, or to accept of the Fruits of his Correction, and humble and penitent Submission of his Unhappiness in offending your Majesty (which I assure myself is long since ripe, and grown to full Perfection in so forward an Affection, and so prone to all manner of royal Duties, as he hath ever been); if, I say, it be not yet Time to shew Mercy, but that still he must remain within the *Walls* of his *Bondage*, to expiate that which he did within the *Walls* of *Privilege*—

My Hope is, that he which will die at any time for your Majesty's Service, will find Patience to *live* any where, for your Majesty's Pleasure. Only thus much let me beseech your Majesty again and again, not to deny your most humble and obedient Subject, that you will be pleased to mitigate the Rigour of his Sufferings so far, as to grant him the Liberty of the *Tower*; and that he may no longer groan under the burden of these Incommodities, which daily prejudice his Health and Fortune in a higher Degree, than I believe your Majesty either knows or intends. I am bold to importune your Majesty in this Point, because it concerns mine own Good and Preservation. For your Majesty shall deign to understand, that I have no Means to live your Subject, but what proceeds from his brotherly



brotherly Love and Bounty ; so as I may not be suffered to go unto him, and receive Order for my Maintenance, I know none, but *our Father* which *is in Heaven*, of whom I can beg our daily Bread. He that was *my Father* upon *Earth* is long since departed, and (if I have not been misinformed, who was then beyond the Seas, *par mes peccades*) your Majesty's Anger was to him little better than the Messengers of Death, though I persuade myself it was rather in your Majesty's Name, than on your Majesty's Errand. For what Use could your Majesty have of his being no more ? Who neither was, nor ever could be, other than your Majesty's faithful and affectionate Servant ; who in his Soul adored your Royal Person, as much as any mortal Man did a mortal God ; and, lastly, whose Heart was bent to please your Majesty ; as the very Sound of your Displeasure was enough to break it ; and more perfect Obedience than this can a Subject shew, to make his Sovereign's Favour equal to Life, and Death ?

Pardon me (dread Sovereign), if I cannot in this Case hinder my Father's Ghost from appearing ; for how can it possibly be at rest, so long as your fatal Displeasure reigns still in his poor Family, and makes it the House of continual Mourning ? Remove then (if it be your Will) the Cloud hung so long over our Heads : And let not the present Storm, that wants Matter to produce, extort a Thunderbolt : For what is *Phylipes*, or the Son of *Phylipes*, that your Majesty should so destroy them ? We are unworthy of CÆSAR's Anger, as well in regard of our Meanness, as our Innocency. To conclude my Prayers ; I most humbly beseech your Majesty to forgive them ; and let not my Ignorance of the Time and Ceremonies used in Court, be imputed to your humble and well-meaning Suppliant, as a wilful want of Reverence ; for there lives not in your Dominions, a Subject in whose Breast the two loyal Qualities of *Love*, and *Fear* do more religiously meet, or who would more

willingly part with his own Essence, to add the least Acquisition to the Greatness and Majesty of his Sovereign. True it is, that the Subject, that employed my Soul at this present, was of such a Nature, that I could not deny it the uttermost of my Affection; and he that thinks he can never speak enough, may easily speak too much: My Comfort is that neither my Brother, nor myself, can be said to have failed, or exceeded, in any thing but Words: But what will that avail us, unless your Majesty will pardon? without that, all our Crimes are equal, and as much Danger lies in a humble Petition, as a Plot of Treason.

Be pleased therefore to give us back (most gracious Sovereign) our *questionable Words*, and keep our *undoubted Hearts*; at least, shew us such Mercy as to judge us according to your own Goodness: For if we had not Leave to appeal thither, we should be in Danger of losing the happiest Part of our Birth-right, and, instead of your Majesty's Subjects, become other Mens Slaves. From your Majesty therefore, and no other, your faithful Suppliant craves and expects the royal Words of Grace; which if I may be so happy as to carry my poor Brother, before he grows any older in Misery, I shall fill many an honest Heart with Praise and Thanksgiving: And, for my Particular, your Majesty's greatest Favour, and Liberality, shall not more oblige, or better affect others, than this your royal Clemency shall me. In Memory whereof I shall daily pray, that your Majesty may obtain all your Desires in Heaven, and be obeyed in all your Commands on Earth, that you may live to see all your holy Intentions take Effect for the Good of *Christendom*; and so honour the Age you live in, with the Miracles of your Wisdom: Finally, that your Felicity in this World may overtake that in the next, and make you wear a perpetual Crown, to God's Glory, and your own.

*Your Majesty's most humble, loyal, and true English Subject,*

FRANCIS PHYLIPES.



*Mr. CUFFE's remarkable Speech at his Execution.*

I AM here adjudged to die for acting an Act never plotted, for plotting a Plot never acted. Justice will have her Course; Accusers must be heard; Greatness will have the Victory; Scholars and Martialists (though Learning and Valour should have the Pre-eminence) in *England* must die like Dogs, and be hanged. To mislike this, were but Folly; to dispute of it, but Time lost; to alter it, impossible; but to endure it, is manly, and to scorn it, Magnanimity. The Queen is displeased, the Lawyers injurious, and Death terrible: But I crave Pardon of the Queen; forgive the Lawyers, and the World; desire to be forgiven; and welcome Death.

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*A Character of Mr. Hastings, taken from the first Earl of Shaftsbury's Memoirs, a Manuscript, p. 18.*

IN the Year 1638. lived Mr. *Hastings*. By his Quality he was Son, Brother, and Uncle, to three successive Earls of *Huntington*. He was, peradventure, an Original in our Age, or rather the Copy of our antient Nobility in hunting, not in warlike Times. He was low, very strong, and very active, of a redish flaxen Hair; his Cloaths always green Cloth, and never all worth, when new, five Pounds. His House was perfectly of the old Fashion, in the Midst of a large Park, well stocked with Deer; and, near the House, Rabbits to serve his Kitchen; many Fish-ponds, great Store of Wood and Timber; a Bowling-Green in it, long, but narrow, full of high Ridges, it being never levelled since it was plowed; they used round sand Bowls; and it had a Banqueting-house like a Stand, a large

large one built in a Tree. He kept all manner of Sport-Hounds that ran, Buck, Fox, Hare, Otter, and Badger, and Hawks, long and short winged. He had all Sorts of Nets for Fish. He had a Walk in the new Forest, and the Manor of *Christ's Church*; this last supplied him with Red Deer, Sea and River Fish; and indeed all his Neighbours Grounds and Royalties were free to him; who bestowed all his Time in these Sports, but what he borrowed to caress his Neighbours Wives and Daughters; there being not a Woman in all his Walks, of the Degree of a Yeoman's Wife, or under the Age of Forty, but it was extremely her Fault, if he was not intimately acquainted with her; this made him very popular, always speaking kindly to the Husband, Brother, or Father, who was to boot very welcome to his House; whenever he came there he found Beef, Pudding, and Small Beer, in great Plenty. A House not so neatly kept as to shame him, or his dusty Shoes. The great Hall strewed with Marrow-bones, full of Hawks Perches, Hounds, Spaniels, and Terriers. The Upperside of the Hall hung with the Fox-Skins of this and the last Year's killing; here and there a Pole-Cat intermixed, Game-keepers and Huntsmens Poles in Abundance. The Parlour was a large long Room, as properly furnished. On a great Hearth paved with Brick lay some Terriers, and the choicest Hounds and Spaniels: Seldom but two of the great Chairs had Litters of young Cats in them, which was not to be disturbed, he always having three or four attending him at Dinner, and a little white round Stick, of fourteen Inches long, lying by his Trencher, that he might defend such Meat as he had no Mind to part with to them. The Windows, which were very large, served for Places to lay his Arrows, Cross-Bows, Stone-Bows, and other such-like Accoutrements. The Corners of the Room full of the best Choice hunting and hawking Poles; an Oyster Table at the lower End, which was of constant Use twice a Day,



all the Year round ; for he never failed to eat Oysters before Dinner and Supper through all Seasons : The neighbouring Town of *Poole* supplied him with them. The upper Part of the Room had two small Tables and a Desk ; on the one Side of which was a Church Bible, and on the other, the Book of Martyrs. On the Tables were Hawks Hoods, Bells, and such-like ; two or three old green Hats, with their Crowns thrust in so as to hold ten or a dozen Eggs ; which were a Pheasant kind of Poultry he took much Care of, and fed himself. Tables, Dice, Cards, and Boxes, were not wanting ; in the Hole of the Desk were Store of Tobacco-pipes that had been used. On one Side of this End of the Room was the Door of a Closet, wherein stood the strong Beer, and the Wine, which never came thence, but in single Glasses, that being the Rule of the House, exactly observed ; for he never exceeded in Drink. or permitted it. On the other Side was a Door, into an old Chapel, not used for Devotion ; the Pulpit, as the safest Place, was never wanting of a cold Chine of Beef, Venison-pasty, Gamon of Bacon, or great Apple-pye, with thick Crust, extremely baked. His Table cost him not much, though it was good to eat at. His Sport supplied all but Beef and Mutton, except *Fridays*, when he had the best Salt-fish, as well as other Fish, he could get, and was the Day his Neighbours of best Quality most visited him. He never wanted a *London* Pudding ; and always sung it in with *My pert Eyes there in a—* He drank a Glass or two of Wine at Meals, very often Syrup of Gilly-flowers in his Sack ; and had always a Tun Glass without Feet stood by him, holding a Pint of Small Beer, which he stirred with Rosemary. He was well-natured, but soon angry, calling his Servants Bastards, and Cuckoldy Knaves ; in one of which he often spoke Truth to his own Knowledge, and somerimes in both, though of the same Man. He lived to a Hundred, never lost his Eyesight ; but always wrote and read

read without Spectacles, and got on Horseback, without helping, until past Fourscore; he rode to the Death of a Stag, as well as any.

*N. B.* He lived at *Woodland*.

*Memorandum*: The Picture of this *Mr. Hastings* is at full Length, at the House of *Lord Shaftsbury*, at *St. Giles's*, near *Cranborn* in *Dorsetshire*. His Person, Cloaths, and green Hat, are agreeable to the above Description; and the Tradition of his Character in the neighbouring Villages confirms this Account of his Life. The present *Lord Shaftsbury*, finding in the first Earl's Memoirs this Character of him, caused it to be wrote out, and hung up under the Picture, in a fine gilt Frame.

The Picture shews Age and Vigour, and appears to have been drawn when he was about Fourscore.

*A Letter from Lady Margaret, King Henry the Seventh's Mother, from the Original in her own Hand.*

*My dereft and only defyred Joy yn thys World,*

WITH my moſte herty lovyng Bleſſyngs, and humble Comendations—y pray oure Lord to reward, and thancke your Grace, for thatt yt hathe pleſyd your Hyghnes ſoo kyndly and lovyngly to be content to wryte your Lettyrs of Thancks to the *Frenſhe* Kying, for my greet Mater, that ſoo longe hathe been yn Sewte, as Maſtyr *Welby* hath ſhewed me your bounteous Goodneſs is pleſed. I wyſh my der Hert and my Fortune be to recover yt, y truſt ye ſhall well perſeyve y ſhall delle towards you as a kind lovyng Modyr; and if y ſhuld



nevyr have yt; yet your kynd Delyng ys to me a thousand tymes more then all that Good y can recover, and all the *Frenshe* Kyng's mygt be myn wythall. My der Hert, and yt may plese your Hyghnes to lycense Mastryr *Whytstons*, for thys Time, to present your honorabyll Lettyrs, and begyn the Process of my Cause; for that he so well knoweth the Matter, and also brought me the Wrytyngs from the seyde *Frenshe* King, with hys odyr Lettyrs to hys Parlyement at *Parysse*; yt shold be gretlye to my Helpe, as y thynke; but all wyll y remyte to your Plesyr; and if y be too bold in this, or eny my Desires, y humbly beseeche your Grace of Pardon, and that your Highnes take no Dysplesyr.

My good Kynge, y have now sent a Servant of myn ynto *Kendall*, to resseyve syche Anewietys as be yet hangynge upon the Acounte of Sir *Wyllyam Wall*, my Lord's Chapeleyn, whom y have clerly dyscharged; and if yt wull plese your Mayesty's oune Herte, at your Loyser to send me a Lettyr, and command me, that y suffyr none of my Tenantes be reteyned with no Man, but that they be keppe for my Lord of *Torke*, your faire swete Son, for whom they be most mete; it shall be a good Excuse for me to my Lord and Hosbond; and then y may well and wythowte Dysplesyr cause them all to be sworne, the wyche shall not aftyr be long undon: And wher your Grace shewed your Plesyr for the Bastard of Kyng *Edward's*; Syr, there is neither that, or any other thing, I may do by your Commandment, but y shall be glad to fullfyll to my lytyll Power, with God's Grace: And, my swete King, *Feldyng*, this Befor, hath prayed me to beseeche yow to be his good Lord yn a Matter he feweth for to the Bishop of *Ely*, now, as we here, electe, for a lytyll Offyse nyghe to Lond. Verily, my Kynge, he ys a gued and a wyse well rewled Gentrylman, and full trewly hath served yow well accompanied as well at your fyrst as all odyr Occasions; and that cawsethe us to be the more bold  
gladder

and gladder also to speke for hyme; how be yt my Lord Marquis hath ben very low to hym yn Tymes past, by cause he wuld not be reteyned with him; and trwly, my good Kyng, he helpythe me ryght well yn seche Matters as y have Besynes wythyn thys Partyes: And, my der Hert, y now besече you of Pardon of my long and redyous Wrytyng, and pray almighty God to gyve you as long, good, and prosperous Lyfe as evyr had Prynce, and as herty Blessyngs as y can axe of God. At *Calais Town*, thys Day of Seint *Annes*, that y dyd bryng ynto thys World my good and gracyous Prynce, Kyng, and only beloved Son, By

*Your humble Servant, Bede-woman, and Modyer,*

MARGARET R.

*To the King's Grace.*

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*An original Commission, signed King Henry VIII. to take Possession of Cardinal Woolsey's Estate, condemned and forfeited to the King.*

By the KING.

HENRY R.

**T**RUSTY and well-beloved, We grete youe well. And wheras the moost Reverend Fader in God *Thomas* Lord Cardinall, Archebisshop of *Yorke*. in the Terme of Sainet *Michael* last past, was, befor us in our Benche, justly and lawfully committed, condemned, and atteinted of and for certayn great Causes and Offences by him committed and done against us, our Regallity and Lawes: Wherfor he hathe forfeited unto us all his Castells, Houses, Lordshippes, Landes, Rents, and Hereditaments, wherof he, or any others to his Use, was seased or possessed, in Possession, Reversion, or Use, with all the Profets and Revenues of the same. And forasmoche as it is comen to our Knowledge, that the said Cardinall hath not  
only



only infeoffed the Deane and Canons of a Colledge by him lately erected within our Universitie of *Oxford*; but also other Personnes of and in certain Lands lying and being within our Countye of *Norffolk*: And bycause that, by the Ordre of our Lawes, Offices must be founde for us, comprising the Certainte of the said Lands, we intending the Effect of our said Lawes in that Behalf to be enforced, have auctorised you, by our Commission under our Great Seale, to enquire of the same; willing and commanding youe to make due Inquisition therof, according to the Purport of our said Commission: And wher also it is come to our Knowledge, that certain of our Subjects, being Fermors unto the said Colledge, be lawfully intituled unto certain Fermes, for the which they have not only payd great Fynes, but also have ben at other Charges in the obteyning of the same, intending to procure them Leases, to be founde by Office befor youe, for the Preservation of their Interests in that Behalf: We therfor, bearing tender Zele to our said Subjects, and being not mynded that they shuld suffre any Wrong or Damage in that Behalf, will and commande youe fermely to promysse, on our Behalf, to every such Subject or Subjects appering before youe for such Purpose, and to all other our Subjects, having any such Leases, that their Leases shall stand as good and effectuell unto them, as by our Lawes they shuld do, yf they were fully and expressely found by the said Offices: Whiche is our full Mynde and Pleasur, any-thing in the sayd Offices to the contrary notwithstanding. Given under our Sygnet, at our Manor of *Esthamstade*, the 3d Daye of *August*, the 21st Yere of our Reigne.

*To our trusty and well-beloved Sir John Bolleyn, Knight; Sir Francis Lovell, Knight; John Spelman, Seargeant in our Laws, and Francis Moundford, Esquiers; and to every of them.*

*An original Letter from the Lords of the King's Council, in the Time of Edward VI. 30th of April 1548. about preserving the Bells in Parish Churches from being imbezzled.*

AFTER our hartie Commendations, wherin the King's Majestie, upon diverse Complaints made of the greate Wast, embeselling, and alienating of the Bells, Plate, Jewels, and Ornaments, belonging to the Parishes Churches and Chapells of all Places of the Realme. Forasmuche as the Inventories herof made by the Order of his Majestie, of all the said Plate, Jewells, Ornaments, and Bells, within that his Highnes Cytie of Gloucester, were appoynted to remain with you; the first of which Inventories shall be even necessarie for the Execution of suche Orders as is now appoynted to be eftsoones taken for a more sure Staie of the said Goods: His Majesty's Pleasure is, that immediately upon the Sight of these our Letters, you shall deliver, or cause to be delivered, to his Majesty's said Commissioners, particularly appoynted for this Matter in the said Countie, all suche Inventories, concerning the Premisses, as remayne in your Custodie, or that you maie by any good Meanes come by: And, besides that, his Majesty's further Pleasure is, that, in case any of the said Inventories hertofore remayning with you, or in the Custodie of any other before you in that Office, have bene by any Means delyvered from you or them, or any others, that in that case you shall signifie unto the said Commissioners, to whom, and for what Cause, the said Inventories have bene so delyvered; and besides give suche further Informations as you knowe, and may serve to the Knowledge of the Trewth, and the good Furtherance of his Majesty's Commission, in all things to be required of you:

Wherof



Wherof we require you not to faill. From *Westminster*, the last of *April* 1548.

WINCHESTER.

J. BEDFORD.

T. DA....

JOHN TATE.

WILLM. PETRES, S.

ROBERT BOTTON.

RYCHARD COTTON.

ROBERT POWIS.

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*An original Letter from the Earl of Northumberland to Princess Mary, Daughter to King Henry VIII.*

**M**Y bounden Duty humbly remembred to your Grace, it may please the same to understand, that having seen a Letter lately, directed to my poore Wyfe, wherby it seemyth your Pleasser is, that I shold be a Meane to helpe the Inlardgement of *Steyn*, your Offyccer, now in Trouble; my Trust is, that your Grace dothe right well kno, that my whole and intier Servis, under and next unto my Soverayne Lorde and Maister the King's Majesty, shall be moste reddey in all things to obey your Grace, my Duty reserved to his sayd Highnes, which is your Grace's Souverayne Lorde and most derely beloved Brother. And as I do dayly pray to my Lorde God for the Preservation of the one, so do I for the other; and also for the Continuance of perfyt Love and Concord between you; as the Duty of all true and faythfull Subjects is to do. And for your sayde Servants, whos Offences hathe byn towards his Majestie; so am I most assured no lyving Creature may, in the remytting of their sayd Faults, and releving of their said Lybertye, do so much therin, as the leest Request from your Grace's selfe may do to his Majestie: Wherin, as your Grace shall command me, so shall I therin, and all other things, be reddey to do my bounden Duty, as apertaynith; as the lyving God knoweth; who, with the Increas of Priviledge of his most holy

Word,

Word, preserve your Grace in most prosperous Helth and Felicite. At his Majesty's Court the 20th of *November*.

*Your excellent Grace's most bounden*

NORTHUMBERLAND.

*To my Lady Mary's most excellent Grace.*

Sheriffhutton, 29 Octobris.

*Counsell of Yorke, to the Lord Cardinal, earnestly moving for Deputie Wardens to be placed, in order to raise the Militia---The Death of the Lord Dacre.---The Earl of Cumberland sueth for his Offices.---Mr. Heron desireth to be quitt of the Charge of Ridsdale, and the Lord Ogle, of Tindale.*

Nota, *Lord Dacre died Anno 17. H. VIII. 1526.*

PLEAS it your Grace to call unto youre gracious Remembrance, that we have divers and many times written unto your Grace for the auctorising of the Earles of *Westmerlande*, and of *Combrelande*, unto the Office of Deputie Wardeins of the East, West, and middle Marches: And thereupon we have, at sundry times, promised the same to the said Erles, whiche yet we cannot perform, because we lak the Fourme, how, and in what manner, it shall stande with the King our Soverain Lord's Pleasure, and yours, the same shall be granted to them. And we doubte that the Tracte of Tyme thereof shall occasion the mysdemeaned Persones there, to be more prone and redie to continue their olde accustomed Mysorders, considering, that they be withoute their Wardeins; whiche People, as yet (thanked be God), bee at some good Staye; howbeit, unlesse youre Grace sende shortly hidder the said Writings, according

Y



According to our Instructions, we feare leste some great Inconvenience shall ensue by the Delay thereof; for the well-disposed Inhabitants of the said Countie (whereof there be right fewe) proving themselves to be without their Wardeins, be in manner as Men half desperate, and oute of Hope to bee looked on for Remedie of Myforders. And of the other Parte, the Offenders (whereof there bee great Nombre though they of *Tyndale* doo yet no Hurte) reioice the non having of any such Governors, and wold that never any suche shuld bee, nor yet no Meetings at Dayes of Tenour for any manner of Redresse. And as youre Grace may muche better consider than we, that they being wilde Persones, and mooste ferthiste of and from good Ordre of all this Realme, cane nor maye no long while contynue (having no Governors) withoute Perill, and great Dainger of high Attempts, contrarie to the King our Sovereain Lord's Laws; the oonly Remedie and Staye whereof, we dayly loke for at your Grace's Hands, by Knowlege of your Pleasure in annswering of our former Letters.

Here inclosed we sende unto youre Grace the true Copie of a Lettre sente from the King's Highnes unto our Felawe Sir *William Sparre*, Knight, for the Admission of a Yeman of my Lord's Chambre, over and above the Nombre appoynted by our Check-Roll: And we beseeche your Grace, we may know your Pleasure, what we shall do therein; for we have takene Daye unto *Christmasse* next for giving to him of any Annswere in the same; and, in the meane tyme, he is in my Lord's dayly houshold, not sworne, or admitted to the same.

This Daye we have certaine Knowelege of the Decease of the Lorde *Dacre*, the Occasion whereof (as we here say) was by falling of his Horse, who had divers Rules, Fermes, and Offices, of the King's Highnes, as at *Carlile*, and many other fundry Places in *Comberlande*, and many of the same (as the Erle of *Comberlande* affirmeth) were by the King's Highnes promised

promised to him, withoute whiche he saithe he cannot bee able to exercise the forsaide Rome of Deputie-Warden of the West Marches. And that had, togiddir with the Town and Castell of *Carlile*, he writethe to us he wol be well contente to entre into the same Office of Deputie Wardeine of the West Charges, and to take the Charge thereof on him accordingly (He entendethe alsoo to sende hiddir his Sone and Heire) We beseeche your Grace, to know your Pleasure, what we shall do therein: In all other Matures for whiche we have heretofore written to knowe youre Grace's Pleasure, as well by our several Lettres, sent to your Grace at divers times, as lately by our Instructions generally to Maister Doctor *Tate*, and others of my Lord's learned Counsaill; we in our mooste humble wise beseeche youre Grace to take some Payne therein, that we may have some Knowlege of your Grace's Pleasure, by your Grace's Lettres; whiche we dayly bee right desirous to knowe; and shall endeavor ourselfs, with all Diligence, to obey, observe, and perform the same, to the uttermoste of our Powre, as our Lorde knowethe, who evermore have yeu in his holie Tuycion and Governance, oure mooste singuler good and gracious Lorde. Written at the Castell of *Sheriffhutton*, the Twenty-ninth Daye of *Octobre*.

Sire *William Heron* wolde fayne be discharged of *Riddisdale*, like as heretofore we have written unto youre Grace; wherein we requyre your Grace to knowe your Pleasure; and also touching the Lorde *Ogle* for the Bailliwick of *Tyndale*.

*Your most humble Servants,*

BRIAN HIGDON,    WYLLIAM JASSE,  
W. FRANKELEYN,    T. TEMPEST.  
JOSEPH VVEDALE,

*To my Lord Legate his Grace.*



*An original Letter of Edward the VIth, excusing a  
Peer's Attendance.*

By the KING.

EDWARD.

**R**IGHT trustie and right well-beloved Cofyn, we grete you well. And whereas it hath been declared unto us, by our right trustie, and right entierly beloved Cofyn and Counsellor the Duke of *Northumberland*, that without the manifest Dannger of your Helth you shall not conveniently be hable to give your Attendance at the Parliament ; which we have particular somoned for sundry urgent and weightie Causes, concerning the Commonwelthe of our Realme. Like as we have accepted the said Declaration, touching the State of your Body ; so we be pleased in that respecte to tollerate youre Absence, notwithstanding our Write of Somons addressed unto you, for youre personall Repaire to our said Parliament : Requiring you nevertheless, upon the Receipte hereof, to make out your Proxie, in Forme accustomed, to suche Personage of your Estate, as may, for you, and by your Consent, advance the good Purposes to be treated and concluded in our said Parliament accordingly. And thies our Letters shal be your Discharge for your Absence, as aforesaid. Geven under our Signet, at our Palace of *Westminster*, the last Daye of *February*, the seventh Yeare of our Reign.

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*An original Letter from one Castle, to Mr. James  
Mills.*

*Suavissime Millefi,*

**Y**OUR Silence might justly cause me to with-hold my Pen, lest haply my Letter miss you at the Arrival : For I cannot conceive (your Indisposition excepted) what may have bred

bred so long a Silence, but your Absence : But the Truth of my Affections, and Desire to acquit myself in my Promise, would have me shoot, though it be at Reverse.

*Francklyn* (whose Condemnation I touched in my last) hath found the Favour to be respited from Execution ; and requiteth the Gift of a few Days with Discoveries of new Broods of Sorcerers, Witches, and Poisoners, and other of that hellish Rabble : Whereof some (by the Light he hath given) are already apprehended, and others expected to be brought into Hold. You will perceive, by this Copy of his Arraignment inclosed, how far he had Credit in the Poison-plot, and who they be that he hath made questionable, as Wheels of the same Clock.

*Sir Tho. Mounsen* hath been two several Days brought forth, to be proceeded withal to his Tryal : He was adjourned from the first, upon his Request to have the Lord Treasurer present, who, he thought, would much justify him against some main Circumstances of the Crime. On *Monday* last he was set to the Bar again. The Indictment having been read, the Lord Chief Justice declared, that there were certain Letters fallen into his Hands, which contained Stuff of a new and strange Stamp, and such as had relation to the Prisoner : And for that there were many hidden and perplexed Circumstances depending of them, that would ask some longer time for their Search and Consideration, he must be forced to adjourn the Jury, and the Court, until the 12th of this present. In the mean time, he had Directions to commit the Prisoner to the *Tower*, where the Lieutenant had Warraat for his Reception and Custody. And hereupon giving Order for calling in the Warders of the *Tower*, that were attending in a Place hard by, he committed him to be safely conveyed thither. Before he departed from the Bar, he besought the Judges, that, seeing he was now brought forth to be condemned or freed, he might not be sent away



away without his Tryal; protesting he was so pure and white from any Guilt of the Crime, that he would neither ask Mercy for his Soul of God, nor Pardon for his Body of the King. But my Lord Chief Justice told him, that the Protestation had too much Impudence to come from a Man so foul and spotted as it was known he was: That he had Savour either of an Atheist or Popish Equivocator; from both which the Impudence was common; *Occultare crimen mendacio, et scelus scelere*: That indeed the Arch-dissembler *Garnett* had sometimes stood in the same Pulpit he now occupied; but his Doctrine of Equivocation had found so bad Entertainment in the Minds of all honest Men, that he knew his Followers would be much deceived, if they thought in his Steps to get Credit, though their Speeches should be bound with the deepest Protestations: That the Lord Treasurer, upon whose Testimony he so much relied to be made upright against the Circumstances of the Accusation, had that Morning written, that he could say nothing of Sir *Tho. Mounsen*, either to do him Good or Harm. This done, the Guard was commanded to take him away. It is conceived, that he shall be put to the Torture; and, at the next Session, answer as well for Matter of Treason as Felony. He is suspected to hold the Clew or Thread that leadeth into the Labyrinth of a Mischiefe that some have stiled *Conjuratio Catiline, Lentuli, et Cethegi, &c.* and which my Lord Chief Justice, more than once, publicly (connecting the Murder of *Overbury* into it) hath in some degree compared with the Powder-Plot. I cannot tell what Reference these Incendiaries (that had a Design to have buried the best Part of this City, and most of the principal Towns of the Kingdom, in Ashes and Ruins) might have towards *Mounsen*, and his Complices: Only I apprehend, that in the Press of so fearful a Waste of Wealth and Arms, and at a time when People should be filled with Horror and Amazement, it would not have been a Labour of much Difficulty

culty for a foreign Power (assisted with the unnatural Vipers that lodge with us in the same Womb) to have invaded and overcome the Land with a wretched Massacre. The Incendiaries laid their first Proof at *Wyndham* in *Norfolk*, which was burned to the Ground. By the Discretion of the Justices of that County, and the Industry of some of the Inhabitants, most of them were taken, and have been since executed; who, before their Deaths, revealed twelve of those who should have fired *London*, who since have been apprehended.

*Messalina* is not yet delivered, though that Print gave out, that she was brought to Bed of a Child dead-born two or three Nights since. The like Report spake also, that the Lord Treasurer was committed to the Duke of *Lenox*: Which is a Falsehood; for he cometh ordinarily to the Council-Board.

The Lord Deputy of *Ireland* is said to be coming over; but not occasioned by any Circumstances springing from these Plots, but at his own especial Instance, to retire from the Burden of that Charge, and to receive some Access of Honour, which the King is minded to bestow on him here at home.

Mr. *Murray*, of the Bedchamber, hath the Custody of the Privy-Seal, *pro tempore*; and to him are the Signets directed. But it is believed that the King means not to settle the Seal there; but will, after his Return hither, recommend it to some Person of Honour.

Thus you see how desirous I am to satisfy your Request, and mine own true Affection, that will never account any Endeavour prolix, that may yield you either Profit or Contentment. As the Scenes go on, you shall know more. Continue (my sweetest Friend) as you do, to love and follow Religion and Virrue: Adjoin to your Society those that are like yourself; that have Elegancy of Manners, Comity, and are Lovers of Virtue and good Letters for others; esteem them, as they are are, *jæx, limus, et verè vulgus*. Remember my Service and Affection



Affection to your Father and Mother, and my Salutations to the rest that belong to your Family. To yourself I will never be other than

*Your faithfully affectionate Friend.*

7 Decemb. 1565.

J. CASTLE.

*To my dear Friend Mr. James Mills.*

*An original Letter from Sir Thomas Wharton to the Lord Privy-Seal, dated 23 December 1545.*

PLESITH it your most honorable Lordshipe to be advertised, that upon *Wednisdaie*, being the 11th Daie of this Instant of *Decembre*, there was a Sessions of Gaocll Delyverie at *Karlisle*; where was Sir *Ralf Ellercar*, *Robert Powis*, *Robert Challonner*, my Brother Sir *Thomas Curven*, my self, and others, authoriside by the King's Highnes's Commission for the same; wher did suffre, accordinge to their Demerits, nine Parsons; two for Hie Treason, upon Words spoken, *That the Commons was up in the Southe Cuntre*; the one was the Sub-prior of *Karlisle*, and the other a Man of the Lordshipe of *Skailkie*, nere unto the Border; and one for counterfetinge of the King's Highnes's Coine, which dwelt in *Gilflande*; the other six for Fellonniye; the Executions wherof was a verie goode Example for all thes Parts: And havynge Knowlege myself laithe affore, from the King's Highnes's Counsaill establyshide in the Northe, of the said Sessions, I causide eight Parsons to be taken for Suspecions of Fellonnye; in the Apprehension wherof the Lord *Dacre* did Goode, since six of them was of *Gilflande*. The Circumstance of the King's Highnes' Affaris proceded unto, then, I doubt not, but his Grace's saide Counsaill haith advertised to your Lordshipe at Length.

Advertising

Advertisinge also your Lordshipe, as I am informed, that the Lorde *Maxwell*, the 8th of this Instant of *Decembre*, repaired unto the Court of *Scotlande*, the Kinge there then at *Arbrothe* with the Abbot of the same: There restith great Displeasure betwix the saide Abbot and the saide Lorde *Maxwell*.

Advertising further your Lordshipe, as I am also informed, that the Kinge of *Scots*, in his own Parson, haith appoynted the 15th Daie of *Januarie* next to be at *Chelfo*, which is upon the East Marche, nere to the Frontere of *Englande*; and, at his being there, to have a Justice in Heyre at *Gedworthe*, nere to the same, to order all Complaynts that shall be exhibit agaynst the Inhabitants of *Tweedell*; and, after that fynished, to have the same Justice in Heyre to sit at the *Armytage* in *Liddisdail*, to order all Complaynts that shall be exhibit agaynst the Inhabitants of *Liddisdail*; and the King's Abode to be at *Chelfo* duringe all that tyme.

Advertising also your Lordshipe, that, as I am informed, there is a Ballad maide lately in *Scotlande* of gret Derision agaynst all *Inglyshmen*, for our livynge in the trew Christen Faith; which they take to be the contrarie. If it be your Lordship's Plesure, that I shall sende for the Copie, and to sende it to your Lordshipe; for it goeth mucche abroad; and, as I am also informed, that the Bishops are the Setters-forth therof; as it maie stand with your Lordship's most honorable Commandment therein: For all other, I shall attende the same to my possible Powre. The King's Highnes' West Marchis procedith in dew Obedience and goode Order, Thanks be to God: To whom I shall dailie praye, for the most longe Life of your honorable Lordship, as I am most bounden. At the King's Highnes's Castle of *Cokermouth*, the 23d Daie of *Decembre* 1540.

*Your Lordship's most bounden at Command,*

*To the Right Honorable and my most singler  
goode Lorde my Lorde Privie-Seale.*

THOMAS WHARTON.



*A Copy of King Henry VIII.'s original Declaration of his Mislike to the Lady Anna of Cleves, both before and after Marriage. In the Cotton Library. In Otho. c. 10. p. 481.*

FIRST, I depose and declare, that thys hereafter wryttyn is meerly the Verite intendid uppon no sinister Affection, nor yett uppon none Hatred or Displeasure, and hereyn I take God to wytnes.

Now to the Matter: I say and affirme, that when the first Communication was had with me for the Marriage off the Lady *Anna of Cleves*, I was glad to herken to ytr, trusting to have summe assuryd Friends by it. I muche dowghtyng that tyme, bothe the Emperour, *France*, and the Byshoppe of *Rome*; and also bycause I heard so much bothe of her excellent Beute and vertteus Condysions; but when I saw her at *Rocheſter*, whyche was the first tyme that ever I saw her, it rejoyſed my Hart that I had kepte me free frome making any parte off Bonde before with her, till I saw her myſelfe; for then, I assure yow, I lyked her so yll, and so far contrary to that she was prayſed, that I was woe that ever she came in *Englonde*; and deliberating with myſelfe, that yff it wer poſſyble to finde Means to breke off, I wolde never entre Yoke with her; off whyche myſlykyng both the grete Maſter, the Admyrall that now is, and the Maſter off the Horſe, can and wyll bere Record. Then after, at my Repayre to *Grenewyche*, the next Day after. I thynke, and dowght nott but that the Lord of *Effex*, well examined, can, wyll, or hathe declaryd what I then ſayde to hym in that caſe, not dowghtyng, but ſince he is a Perſon whyche knowyth hymſelfe condemnyd to dye by Act of Parlyament, wyll not dame hys Solle, but truly declare the Trught, not only att that tyme ſpoken by me, but also contynuyngly till the Day

of Maryage, and also many times after; wherby I'm lacke off Consent, I dought not dothe or shall well appeare; and also lacke much off both Wyll and Power to consummate the same; weryn bothe he, my Physicians, the Lord Privy Seal that now is, *Heneyge* and *Deny*, can, and I doubt not will, testify according to Trewth; whyche is, that I never, for Love to Woman, consented to mary; nor yet if she brought with her, toke any from her. This is my bryffe Declaration. *H.*

*Page 482. Questions to be asked of Thomas Cromell.*

Whether, at my comyng from *Rocheſter* to *Grenewyche*, he asked me how I likyd the Quene? To which I answered, nothyng ſo well as ſhe was ſpoken off; and ſayd, that yff I had knowne ſo moche before, ſhe ſhuld not have come hyther. But what Remedy now? He anſwarryd, that he was ſorry for yt.

Oppon the Day off her Entre to *Grynwich*, after I had brought her to her Chamber, he came wyth me to myne; and then I ſayd to hym, How ſay you, my Lord; is it not as I tolde you? Say what they wyll, ſhe is nothing fayre; the Parſonage is well and ſemly, but nothing elſe. Be my Fayth, you ſay right, quoth he; but me thynketh ſhe hath a queenly manner wyth all. That is right, quoth I; and for that tyme we had no farther Communication.

Then after cam it to the Communication oppon the Covenants with the Embaſſadeurs of *Cleve*; in whyche, as I remembere, was found Lack of ample Commiſſion for Performance of Covenants and Treaties; but what Lack I have forgotten, willing him to declare what they were; but amongſte other, I am ſure one was, that theyre did not appere her Aſſent and Conſent to that Commiſſion; upon which Faults founde, the ſayd *Crumwell* came the Backeway to declare them to me; and ſo, communing of them, asked me eſteſonne, How I likyd her? I then anſward, and ſayde, Yff it wer nott that ſhe is comen ſo far into *Englande*, and for fere off makyng a



Roffell in the Worlde, and dryvyng her Brother into the Emperours, and the *France* Kyng's Hands, now beyng togyther, I wolde never have her; but now it is so farre gone; wherfore I am sory.

*Page 483.* The Even byfore we shulde be maryed, as you and I was talkydg thereof, yow tolde me, that the Ambassadors and you, with the rest of my Commissioners, were at a Poynt; and then I asked you, How do ye with the Ensurance that was made by her to the Duke of *Loran*? To that yow answard and sayde, They have cleryd that Matter well inowght, and browght with them a sufficient Instrument of the same. Marry, quo I; yett wyll I not mary her, excepte she make a Renunciation herselfe: Whereoppon, as I remember, you causyd her to make the same; and when she had done it, yow came to me effesones agayne, and tolde me, that it was done: Then is there no Remedy, quo I, but put my Necke in the Yoke; and so we parted for that time. The Morow after we were maryd, as he and I communyd of our Affaires, and the wayghty Maters resolvyd, he asked me whether I likyd her any better then affore. I answard, and sayd, Nay, my Lord, muche wors; for by her Brest she shulde be no Mayde; which strake me to the Hart. But is it so? quo he. Ye, by my fayth, quo I. Then wolde I, quo he, she never had come here. And also I dowght nott, but that he dothe well remember, that at sondry and many other tymes synce, I have declaryd unto hym how I abhorde her ever since. If these thyngs be true, wylling to sett hys Hand thereto.

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*O* *Rig. Lett. Rob. Bowes. Berwick. March 29, 1584. Caligula, c. 8 fol. 1.* He heard from *S.* that the *K.* was informed, that *Mar* and *Glaines* were returned from *Ireland* here, and designed to join the other Lords, and to attempt some Enterprize: This occasioned the *K.* to levy Forces. *Huntly* has no great

great Interest at Court. The K. hearing that the Lord *Claude Hamilton* had sent *John Hamilton*, Orders were sent to apprehend him and others supposed to come with him. Some think *Claude* is returned, which will be attended with some Confusion. The K. revoking all Grants made by himself or Regents, except those to *Lennox* and *Arran*, occasions great Discontents, which the Courtiers make their Advantage of, by the Fees for the renewing of former Grants, and of the Coinage. Reported that Letters from *France* to the K. promise the K. Men and Money soon after *Easter*.

*Ibid. ex Orig. Bowes to Walsing. April 2.* Near *Atwick*, he was informed, by the Warden of S.'s Servant, that a great Number of the Nobility were up in Arms at *Perth*: By the Proclamation they declare, that they are not assembled with any Design against the K. but only for the Advancement of Religion; and because several new Upstarts have engrossed all Power, and are the declared Enemies of the Nobility: Upon this the K. ordered all the whole Force of the Borders to meet him at *Edinburgh*.

*Or. fol. Bowes to Wals. 5 April 1584.* The K. is persuaded, by his Courtiers, that *Angus*, *Athol*, *Mar*, *Gowry*, and *Mar of Glanes*, are at *Perth*, and design to make War upon him and his Courtiers. The K. had ordered *Gowry* to leave the Kingdom: He desired the Time to be lengthened; which was not granted. The K. had 400 Foot to give him; besides, there were 800 from the Borders and *Fife*, at *Edinburgh*. *Gowry* had now at *Perth* but his ordinary Retinue, and kept very quiet. *Angus* is said to have broken his Word, proclaiming at *Edinburgh*, that all Servants and Dependants, &c. of *Mar*, *Glanes*, &c. should leave the Town, and move from *Chidisdale*, except Sir *Ja. Ham.* his Son and Servants, should come there. *Morton* entering the Court without the K. Knowledge, the K. was displeased with it, and ordered to deny



deny him Access, and called him Fool; which he heard, and went away disheartened. *Sedon* tells of the good Reception the *French* K. gave him, and the great Promises that K. made to him of Assistance of Men and Money to his Master, provided that he observed the antient League: In case he made War against the Protestants, the K. of *S.* should assist him, and hinder the Ministers to rail against the K. and *France*.

*Or. fol. 5. 10 April 1584. Bowes to Wals.* That the K. of *S.* by the Advice of his Favourites, had been very severe against all those concerned in the Action at *Ruthen*; that the Abbots of *Deybrough* and *Passley* were charged to leave the Kingdom within 60 Days, notwithstanding their former Submission; that *Angus*, *Mar*, *Gowry*, *Glaines*, and others concerned in that Conspiracy, were forfeited. *Athol* had made a Discovery of all that Matter, and had shewn the K. *Gourie's* Letter to himself, in which he declared, he would go on with the Enterprize. The K. is advised to gather together his Forces. The Levies go on slowly, because the Pay is to be out of the forfeited Estates; which is thought not so good a Fund. The K. has sent for some of the Peers and Gentlemen, who are all hearty to assist the K. in this Affair. *Alex. Hawskins* is out of his Post of Governor of *Edinburgh* Castle, which Name was become odious at Court.

1584. 10th of April, Orig. *Bowes to Wals.* That he was intreated earnestly by the Lords to engage in their Quarrel; which was for the Defence of Religion. He desired Advice, and would not stir in it, till he was ordered by the Q. *El.*

1584. April 15. Orig. *Bowes to Wals.* *Angus*, by the K.'s Order, has delivered *Temptallon* to *Roths*, and has obtained Leave to depart the Kingdom. Before the 4th of *May* next designs to go to *Rockell*. All Affairs at Court are in Quietness, because the Lords are willing to leave the Kingdom peaceably, *Gourie's* being still at *St. Johnston*, it is thought will occasion the

the K. to pursue him by Force. The Nobility, Gentry, &c. who were at Court to guard the K. are gone Home without being succeeded by any others. The K. forbid any of Barons to be present at any Convention, spiritual or civil, without his Order and Consent, Mr. *John Craig*, Mr. *James Lawson*, and Mr. *Da. Lindsay*, from the Synod of *Lothian*, to desire the K. to recal their Order, contrary to their Privileges, but without Success. *Athol* may return Home. It is reported from *France* that 12000 *l.* of *Q. M.*'s Dowry was to be brought to the K. of *S.* by *Ferinhurst*; the 600 *French* to come for the K.'s Guard are not ready to come. The Lady *Mar's* House at *Striveling* is taken from her, and kept for the K.

1584. April 19. Orig. Berw. *Bowes to Walsf. fol. 9.* He was certainly informed that Colonel *Stuart* with 100 had invested *Gourier's* House in *Dundee*, at 3 in the Morning, and held out to 3 Afternoon; but *Crawfurd* the Provost, by the King's Order, commanded the Citizens to assist the Colonel; upon which *Gourie* was obliged to yield. It is thought he will scarcely escape with Life.

1584. April 20th, Orig. *ibid. Bowes to Walsf.* That *Gourie* was come to *Holyroodhouse*, where he was made a Prisoner; that *Marr*, with 100 Horsemen, had entered *Stirling*, and had possessed himself of the Town, and his Mother's House, but had not gotten the Castle. Upon this the K. has commanded, by Proclamation, all Men to arm and march to *Edinburgh*. Few Noblemen are at Court, besides *Montrose*, *Huntly*, and the ordinary Courtiers.

1584. April 20. Copy Petition delivered by *William Colirll*, in the Name of *Angus, Marr, the Master of Glames*, and others entering into the Action at *Stirling. fol. 10th.* This their Action was solely for the Advancement of the good Cause, Maintenance of Religion, the preserving the Amitie and good Estate of both the Sovereigns, and their Estates. They desire,



1st, That Q. E. may send some Ships into the *Firth* of Force to hinder the Bloodshed which may happen in S. 2. That she may send some Forces to the Lords aforesaid. 3. That by the Show of some Forces on the *English* Borders, those Enemies to the LL. aforesaid, may be kept at Home, as *Mortoun* and *Johnstoun* in *Annandale*, *Ferinkersf*, *Hume*, and *Mandestoun*, in the *March*. 4. They desire Money to pay 300 Horse and 300 Foot, so long as the Cause may require. 5. That seeing they may have the greater Part of the 600 Men above in the *English* Borders, without lessening their own Number; that their Levies there may be connived at. 6. That this their Petition may be delivered to her Majestie with all Haste, and her Answer returned, as the Necessitie of their Cause requires.

1584. April 23. fol. 11. Or. *Bowes to Wals*. That in Answer to *Colvill's* Petition, and to the 1st Article, that though the Q.'s Ships were in Readieness, the Weather may be so cross to defeat the Usefullness thereby proposed. 2. The Q. had no Forces ready on the Borders to countenance their Design. 3. That seeing the K. did arm his Subjects, and invade her Dominions; therefore she would order her Wardens to arm; this might make the Adversaries of the LL's to stay at Home with their Forces. This gave *Colvill* some Comfort; though her Majesty, for the Cause named, might give speedy Order in that Matter. 4. Though some Money might be given them, he fears that the Men would not be levied in time to do them Service. *Colvill* replied to this, that they would assure the Soldiers of Pay in any convenient Time, the Credit of which would get them Soldiers; that the LL's would send Word by the next how the Money might be conveyed. For the 5th, He told them he was no Officer, nor without Orders durst connive at the loose *English* Borderers lifting themselves; but promised to recommend that, and all the rest of his Petition, to Q. E. and desired a sudden Answer what to do in that Affair.

*Colvill*

*Colvill* was very well pleased with those Offers, was to go to the Lords, with *Angus*, *Mar*, and *Glaines*, and was to be returned in a little time.

1584. April 23. Or. fol. 12. *Bowes to Wals.* *Colvill*, who was sent from the LL. foresaid from *Stirling*, informed him, that the LL. on the 18th Instant, came together to *Stirling*. On the 9th, the Castle being in the Custody of *Henry Stewart*, Brother of *Arran*, and Mr. *Jo. Stuart*, Constable thereof, was delivered; they were to depart without Hurt: *Henry* chose rather to stay in the Castle, being informed, that some lay in wait to kill him. The LL. foresaid, with 600 Horse, continue in the Castle, and expect that their Friends will reinforce them. They were informed, that *Athol* would be there, with all his own Power, and that of *Gowrie*; that the Forces of *Boid*, Master of *Cassils*, *Bargeine*, and many Barons in the North, and in *Fife*, *Angus*, &c. should meet them; which Hopes has made them undertake this Action. By a Proclamation they declare, that this is not designed against the K. but to get some bad Counsellours from about him; and to bring them to their Trial. The Countesse of *Gowrie* was to come to ask the K. Pardon for her Husband; but is ordered not to come nearer than 20 Miles. *Argile* had sent to *Glaines*, showing, that being desired by the K. he could not refuse to accompany the K. with his household Servants. *Glaines* desired him to tell his Majesty the Substance of the Proclamation; which discovered their real Purposes; which he promised, that *Roths*, *Lindsay*, and many others, who favoured the LL. were to join the K. who would also tell the K. of the Design of the LL. who persuaded them not to venture a Battle for the K.'s Cause. They told them, if their Advice was not taken they would withdraw from the K.'s Party. The K. designs to march speedily against the LL. The K.'s Army is very great, from his Proclamation, that all between 16 and 60 should join, the LL. having few, but those who depend immediately on them. The Town of *Edinburgh* offer to pay and levy 500



Men for the K. besides 11000*l.* Scots, they have lent him to pay their 500 Foot. All the Towns on the Coast upon Summons have promised to meet the K. with their Forces; so the K.'s Army must be far greater than the LL. The K. suspects *Ja. Reid*, Constable of *Edinburgh* Castle, and has commanded another to be put in his room: The Captain designs still to keep the Castle, because the Command of it was given him by Parliament, ordering him not to leave the same by any other Authority. The K. is for fighting the LL.; so that Affair will soon be ended.

1584. 26 April. Orig. fol. 12. *Bowes to Wals.* He was informed, that Colonel *Steward* marched 1000 Horse towards *Stirling*. On the 25th the K. marched with 6000 Men from *Edinburgh* towards *Lithgow*: The Foot was commanded by *Huntly*, *Crawford*, *Montrose*, *Arran*, and *Rothos*; the K. was in the middle Ward, guarded with 500 Foot, and in the Rear were the LL. *St. Clare*, *Sommerville*, *Hume*, and others. The LL. after having left 100 Men in the Castle, broke up from *Stirling* because they had not 600 Men; their Friends failed them. *Bothwell* is ordered to his own House, and to leave his Forces. *Lindsay* is in Prison in *Blackness*; as also *Coldenknows* is committed to Custody. *Sesford* is commanded not to come to the K. It is credibly reported, that *Gowrie* has confessed all to the K. and that 32 Noblemen and Gentlemen of Figure were engaged in that Matter; so it was not adviseable for the K. to proceed over hastily. The LL. are all declared Traitors, and great Rewards to such as shall apprehend them.

1584. April 25. Copy, fol. 14. Direction given to Mr. Wm. Davison, how 2000*l.* sent to Sir Jo. Forster, should be employed, signed by the Lord Treasurer. He was in the Way to *Berwick*, to go to Sir Jo. and get 1000*l.* from him, to be carried to *Berwick*, to be employed as follows: He is to ask at *Bowes* the State of LL. in S. and if with a reasonable Assistance of Money they will be able to make Head against those who abuse the K.'s Ear  
and

and Authority; then that Money shall be given to such as are appointed to receive, who are to give a Receipt for the same: And if the LL. or any having Credit from them, demand a greater Sum; if Mr. *Bowes* say it is fit, 1000*l.* more is to be got from Sir *Jo. Davison* is to write to the Treasurer, to whom he pays this Money; to whom you are to recommend all possible Secrecy about this Matter.

1584. April 26. Sir *Jo. Forster* to *Wals.* *ex Orig.* That *Bothwell* was in *Edinburgh* with 2000 Men; which he is ordered to leave, and not to come within 20 Miles of the Court.

1584. 29. April. *Orig. fol. 15.* Angus and Mar, to the Lord Burgly. That for the Preservation of the K. and Amity, Peace, and common Advantage, of both Kingdoms; and for the Preservation of Religion; all which are in great Danger, by the Practices of those bad Courtiers, who had engrossed the K.'s Ear, and abused his Youth and Good-nature; that they, with the Advice of many good Men, their Fellow-Subjects, had been persuaded to seek due Remedie of the same; which is taken in evil Part by the K. This obliges them to leave their Country; and trusting to have Q. E.'s Favour, and to please to hear the Truth of their Cause, and she, seeing the Equitie of it, to employ her Mediation, and, in the mean time, to suffer them to stay in *England*; they had ventured to come to *Warwick*, and Sir *John Selby* had brought them to *Berwick*, and received favourably: They designed to send a fit Person to Q. E. to acquaint her with that Action of theirs, and of all the Circumstances of it; and to desire her Favour, on which they only depend.

1584. April 30. *Orig. Bowes to Wals. fol. 15.* He was informed by the Master of *Glaimes*, who best understood the Causes of the Miscarriages of the late Enterprize; which were, that those from whom they expected Assistance, were not sufficiently engaged by Bond, &c. to meet them at *Stirling*; that *Gowrie*, according to his Manner, had suffered himself to be abused by general Promises. 2dly, The Taking of *Gowrie*, which



was 3 Days before the Action at *Stirling*, so frightened those who had promised him to meet at the Rendezvous, that they believed that their Designs were defeated. 3. That Disappointment made them scatter themselves, seeing they were unable, with such a small Number of Men, to do any Action. 4. Their Friends with the K. durst not leave his Party, seeing the LL. had not a sufficient Number to protect them: That he had discovered many probable things about the Matter; which *Bowes* would give an Account of, if he shall be employed in the LL. Matters, or be sent for up: Though he thought, that if they had been able to keep the Field with 1000 Men, they would have prevailed without Difficulty: He thinks those of their Party have not changed; and if the Design be again concerted upon better Foundation, that they will be ready to take the Field, and retrieve their lost Reputation: That since their coming hither some Persons of considerable Note had made good Offers towards the renewing that Enterprize, as more particularly hereafter shall be shewn to *Walsf.* And though there was Appearance of better Success in that Matter than formerly, yet *Bowes* durst not give any Advice, till the Event gave Light, in such weighty Matters. The Castle of *Stirling* is surrendered, and the Lives of these therein are to be saved. The Master of *Livingston* obtained the Pardon of the Lord *Hume*. The K. continueth at *Stirling*, has disbanded the greatest Part of his Army, and is to return to *Edinburgh Saturday* next. It is said that *Gowrie* shall die in a little time.

29. April. ex Orig. Lord *Scroop* to *Walsf.* His Servant had brought him Word from *S.* that *Moretown* and *Herreis*, that proclaimed that the LL. as the K.'s Rebels, were to be pursued; that they were come to *Annandale*; that they design to make up all Quarrels betwixt them and their Surname, and the *Grahames*, the *English* Borderers; which Lord *Scroope* thought dangerous, and would hinder it: He desires further Advice.

30 April.

30 April. Copy of the Innocency of the Earls Angus, Mar, Master of Glaimes, and other distressed Subjects of S. to Q. E. in Answer to certain slanderous Reports given out against them, fol. 17. They take God to witness, that they designed not any Violence against the K.'s Person, witness their Actions, known best to Q. E. That they had the K. in Keeping till he was 14 Years old, during which none could say that either by Word or Deed they ever offered him Violence; but that they had been so careful to preserve his Life, that towards it they had engaged some of their Lands; and they spent the Blood of some of the best of their Friends: And since the K. had undertaken the Government in his own Person, they had been persecuted in Lives and Goods; which they do not impute to the K.; their Lives and that of their Wives and Friends, in Danger by many unlawful Means, at Home and Abroad. They appeal to God, whose Favour, and Q. E.'s they renounce, if ever they had the least Meaning contrary to the K.'s Person, Crown, or Government.

1518. The K. of S. comprehended in the Peace made betwixt England and France. Orig. Cal. D. 7.

1526. Orig. From Jo. Clark to Woolsey. That he met with the Duke of Albany near St. Germaines, who told him, That he was sorry that K. of S. was so ill brought up in his Youth, and in no good Company. Clark told him, If there was any Misrule, it was because the Duke had still a Faction there. He found that the Duke was not well beloved at the Court of France.

Cal. D. 9, and 11. The Duke has Conge of the French K.

1528. 2. Feb. The supposed by Cotton, quære.

Ibid, 20 Sept. 1528. Master of the Rolls to Woolsey. That the Duke met him at Paris; talked, that he wished, that the K. of S. were in the bringing up of the K. of E. in his Youth, and in that King's Hands, out of the wanton Counsel of the Scots; which might be done.



*An Order of Council relating to one Staunton.**Anno 3 & 4 Ph. & Mary.*

AFTER our right hartie Commendations to your good Lordship: We have received your Letters of the 8th of this present, together with the Examinations of certaine, touching the Fray made at *Westminster*; for your Travaile wherin, we give your Lordship verie hartie Thanks. And, for that it seamith that *Staunton*, by your Lordship committed to Ward, is not muche faultie in the Matter, we have thought good to pray your Lordship (if ye have no further Matter against him) to cause him to be set at Libertie; taking first (if ye think so good) suche Bonds of him, for his forth-cuming or good Behaviour, as ye shall think requisite; which we referre to your Lordship's Discretion. And so we bid the same right hartily well to fare. From *Eltham*, the 9th of *Auguste* 1556.

*Your Lordship's assured loving Friends,*

NICO. EBOR. CANC.	W. PETRES, S.
WINCHESTER.	JOHN BAKER.
THOMAS ELY.	JO. BOURNE.
R. ROCHESTER.	J. CORNWALEYS.

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*A Rate for Abstinence from Milke, Butter, Chese, and Corne: Made by John Ryche, sumtime Cofferer of the King's Houshold; and by him put into the Parliament-House, Anno 5 K. Ed. VI.*

EVERY Friday, which hath bene, of long Continewance, heretofore used but with One Meale comonly throughout the Realme, is now encreased to Two Meales; whereby it is thought of the Kinds hereafter mentioned be consumed more then was then accustomed. As thus:

Twenty

Twenty Persons forbearing One Meale in the Weke, will save in Expenses of Bread, one Pecke Wheate : Which Rate riseth after one Pecke a Man by the Weke ; wherin are accompted 14 Meales, beside 6 Drinkings, for every Man : And so every of those 20 Meales and Drinkings is accompted for one Man : Which Rate, to the Nowmber of Fower hundred thousand Persons, hereafter appeareth.

		<i>By the Weke.</i>	<i>By the Tere.</i>
Wheate.	20 Persons. —	1 Pecke. —	13 Bushels.
	100 —	5 Peckes. —	8 Qrs. 1 Bush.
	500 —	6 Bush. 1 Pck. —	40 Qrs. 5 Bush.
	1000 —	12 Bush. & half. —	81 Qrs. 2 Bush.
	10000 —	15 Qrs. 5 Bush. —	812 Qrs. 4 Bush.
	50000 —	78 Qrs. 1 Bush. —	4062 Qrs. 4 Bush.
	100000 —	156 Qrs. 2 Bush. —	8125 Qrs.
	400000 —	625 Qrs. —	32600 Qrs.

The aforesaid Nowmber of Persons only served with Milke and Chese in the said Meale encreased, allotting every four Persons to one Pottell of Milke and half a Pound of Chese, do and may consume more then hath been heretofore accustomed of these Kinds, when Abstinence was used ; as by this Rate appereth.

		<i>By the Weke.</i>	<i>By the Tere.</i>
Milke.	20 Persons. —	2 Gall. 1 Pint. —	130 Gall.
	100 —	12 Gall. 1 Pt. —	650 Gall.
	1000 —	125 Gall. —	6600 Gall.
	10000 —	1250 Gall. —	65000 Gall.
	50000 —	6250 Gall. —	325000 Gall.
	100000 —	12600 Gall. —	650000 Gall.
	400000 —	50000 Gall. —	2600000 Gall.

Which Nowmber of Gallons of Milke, converted into Butter or Chese, will make for every Gallon one Pound Butter, or two Pounds Chese ; which will amount to 12200 Barrels Butter, or 20312 Wey Chese.

By



		By the Weke.	By the Yere.
Chefe.	20 Persons.	2 lb. & half.	130 lb.
	100	12 lb. & half.	650 lb.
	1000	125 lb.	6600 lb.
	10000	1250 lb.	65000 lb.
	50000	6250 lb.	325000 lb.
	100000	12600 lb.	650000 lb.
	400000	50000 lb.	2600000 lb.

Which 2600000 lb. amounteth to 10156 Wey.

*A Remembrance of Henry Kylligrew's Journyes in her Majesty's Service, and by Commaundement from my Lorde Treasurer, from the last Yeare of Queene Marye.*

THE first Viage I made in her Majesty's Service, and by her Commaundement, was duringe Queene *Marye's* Life, duringe the Warres betweene *Fraunce* and *England*; at the Beginning whereof, being come into *Germany* out of *Fraunce*, Maister *Randall* was sent thither out of *England* unto me; and, in her Majesty's Name, beinge then Lady *Elizabeth*, willed me to make a Journey into *Fraunce*, to discover their Intents there against this Realme; which I did, with the apparent Daunger and Venture of my Life; and came back againe to *Vaughbourg's*, unto Maister *Randall*, who sent the Advertisement into *England*, being tenne Sheets of Paper, at my owne Chardges. Soon after, upon the Death of Queene *Marye*, Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, Knight, sent me a Man in Poste, by her Majesty's Commaundement, to come home; for that her Majesty would employ me in some Service: Upon Knowledge whereof, I came home in Post, upon my own Chardges, and was forthwith dispatched back againe into *Germany*, to founde the Princes of *Germany* touching a League defensive for Religion; whereunto fyndinge them inclyned

inclyned, as *Vergencis* did farther advertise, I followed myne Instructions; which weare, that I shuld into *Fraunce*, to the Vidame, to deale with him, to see what might be done to make a Peace with *Fraunce* besides Kinge *Phillippe*, soe that *Callice* might have beene rendered to us.

And going in this Journey soe dangerous, the Warres yet standinge betweene the Realmes, it was my Fortune to meete the Vidame betweene *Callice* and *Parris*, whoe was sent for by the Constable to come unto *Cambrijye*, where the Peace was treatinge. My Direction was to him; and therefore was fayne to followe him, and to carrye myself thereafter: And having no meanes then to write into *Englande*, it fortunied, that, goinge with the Vidame to *Parris*, I met Sir *Robert Stafforde* retourninge into *England*; and, whilest they changed their Horses at the Poste, I desired Sir *Robert Stafforde*, havinge scarce Opportunity to speake with him, to say somewhat of that I went for; and, in my Excuse, for that I could not possibly write.

The Effecte of my Speeche unto him was, That I had learned, that the *French*, with handling, would rather make Peace with us, and deliver *Callice*, than to render to Kinge *Phillipp* and the Duke of *Savoy* soe much as was desired: But the Countable did frynd strayne\*; and then first choyse the Peace for *England*. I came to *Cambresye*; and when the Countable knew of my Errand by the Vidame, he was angry that I was brought thither; and so commaunded that I should be straytly kept and wached; as I was indeed: Notwithstanding, I found the meanes to speake with Master *Sommers*, who was then with Master *Wotton* there; and did will him to cause the Commissioners to sticke hard for *Callice*; for I was assured, by good Intelligence, that, rather than fayle, we should have it rendered us: I yet believe it to be true, if the Matter had beene well handled. There I was kept till the Peace was concluded, and then came home. For all this Journey into *Germany* and *Fraunce* I had but fortye Poundes Allowance for all manner of Chardges; which coste me as muche more with the least.

\* Sic Orig.



Soone after this, I was sent over agayne, with Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, Knight, into *Fraunce*; whether I went uppon my own Chardges, and served there by the Space of two Yeares foe. I brought home the Newes of the *Frenche* Kinges Death with that Speede, that I thinke be not forgotten, notwithstandinge the Stay made of the Posts and Ports, that none should passe; insoemuch that, five Dayes after my Arrivall, it was doubted I had brought uncerteyne Advertisement.

I remayned in *Fraunce*, by virtue of her Majesty's Letters, to supplye Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton's* Rome, when he came into *Englande* about the Matters of *Heth*; which was about three Monethes. What Service I did then, and how chargeable it was to me, I write not; but sure I am I sent the true Coppye of the Marques *Dalb.* Commission, which was to make him Vice-roye of *Scotlande*, with other Circumstances tending to our Prejudice. Afterwards I came over with the Advertisements of the Conspiracye intended to be executed at *Ambose*; which was discovered to me by the Way homewardes, by one of the Conspirators. And soone after I was sent to *Conbey* with the Bishopp of *Valence*, to the old Queene of *Scotts*; which Journey was troublesome and dangerous: For, amongs other things, at *Haddington* he should have been taken from me by the Earle *Bothwell*; foe I was constrained to use all the Shifts that could be for the soddayne, and did indeed prevent both their Purposes; which was not without Chardges.

I was afterwards sent with my Lord of *Bedford*, by her Majesty's Commaundement, into *Fraunce*, when he went to condoll and congratulatt, at myne owne Chardges; and since to *Lyons*, with my Lord of *Hunsdon*, in like manner: And also by her Majesty's Commaundement, as my [Lord Chamberlayne told me, to carry Mrs. *Fraunces Haward* to Madame de *Montmorency*; which I did at my own Chardges.

I was sent by her Majesty twice to the *Scottishe* Queene; first to congratulatt the Birth of the Kinge, then to condole the Death of her Husband.

After this, being nowe gone into *Cornwall* with my Wife, the next Night after my home cominge there came a Poste, by her Majesty's Commaundement, to call me to the Court; whether I came in Poste uppon my owne Chardges; and was forthwith sent by her Majesty into *Germany*. With what Damages and Travell I passed that Journey, both by Sea and Land, for the Space of eight Monethes, God knoweth.

I had also almost forgotten that which I had most cause to remember; for it doth yet sticke by me: I meane the dangerous and paynful Travells I endured about the Service of *New-haven*, both before it was ours and after; whither I made many a Voiage, and, at length, put Mr. *Poynings* in Possession, conveying, with 200 *Englishmen* under the Conduct of Mr. *Laydon*, 200 *Frenchmen*, to the ayd of *Roan*; by which means *New-haven* was preserved. How I was hurt, and Prisoner eight Monethes, and fayne to agree for 200. and 4. Ransom; and yet, for myself and four Horsemen which I carried with me, I never had Peny to myself, nor my Mens Wages, as may appeare by all the Books of Accompts in that Behalf. Although the Sequell of that Journey were not so happy, yet I trust my Paynes and Service not to be misliked: At the least, I am sure the *French* doth thinke me worthy of some Remembrance, who ever since have thought more of me then there was Cause.

What Advertisements I gave at my Retourne out of Pryson at that tyme, I need not remember.

What Displeasure I sustayned, for discoveringe some Part of the Duke of *Norfolke's* Conspiracye, at my Retourne out of *Germany*, and what Danger I leive in thereby, I also omytt; and will but remember the Voiages, which nowe are but twoe more within theis twoe Yeares; the one into *Fraunce*, to supplye Mr. *Walsingham's* Rome duringe his Sicknes; the other now into *Scotland*, 1573.: Yet neitheid of them will I make any mention, but leave it to the Judgement of others.



Now for all these Journeys, Chardges, Daungers, Hurtes, and Losses, in the mean while, and the Tyme used only in her Majesties Service, without any Proffitt of my owne, I have only to lyve by, of her Majesties Goodness, the Tellershippe; which was given me before I went to *Newehaven*. And if it be saide, that I have a Pension for my Wife, it is true; but I bought it with my Money; and to have it changed from Sir *George Haward* to my Wife, I gave her Majestye Sixe or Nynne Pounds a Year; which I bought for that Purpose: This is trewe, and maye appeare by the Grant.

So, havinge Children, I have not been able to provide for them by myne owne Industrie, being used in thes former Services; and therefore doe moste humbly beseeche your Honnors to be a Meane for me to her moste excellent Majestye, to consider graciously of my Suite for the said Firme of the Manor of *Santrache*, in *Cornwall*; which is out in Lease, for 17 or 18 Years to come; and therefore no Proffitt to arrive unto her Majesty for that Space. My Desire is to have it, that my Children should not beg after me; and that it maye be a Meane to marrye one of my Daughters to a next Neighbour, adjoining thereunto, of whom I have bought the Wardship: The Rent is somewhat great, I confesse; but truly the Profitt nothinge equall.

*From the Earl of Northumberland, to the Earl of  
Suffex.*

*My good Lord,*

I Could not excuse myself, if I should omytt either writing or sending unto you, as well in rendering my most hartie Thanks, for your Lordship's great Courtesy and Frendlynnes towards me, and in your lendying unto me your House; as also to hear frome you, whether your appointed long and tedious  
Journey

Journey takyth Place or no; and whether, by your Instructions, any Hope may be gathered of his comyng in, or Likelihood of a Mariedge; which onlesse it be from yourself advertised for certain, I will hardly believe it will take place. We have no Newes here but suche as be common with you, of the *Scots* Queynes Mariedge, and other such like, as *Rovokesbye* brought now out of *Scotland*, I send you here inclosed; and do wishe myself Partakar of your Journey, as willingly as ever I went any. And so, in the meane tyme, shall wishe as muche Good unto you, as unto my owne self: Thus resting wholly yours, praing you to account of me, I commyt your good Lordship to Almighty God. From my Lodge at *Topcliff*, the 2d of *June*, 1567.

*Your Lordship's right assured Friend,  
and loving Cosyn,*

NORTHUMBERLAND.

I opened unto your Lordship the Order of the Reconcilment betwixt my Lord of *Lecester* and me; as I shall pray you to keep in secret; so within this half Year (if nothing come but his old fair Words) I shall paynt his Dissymulation abroad, that the World may better know his Order and Manner of Dealing, all for the serving his owne Turne.

*From Sir Francis Knollys, to the Earl of Suffex.*

I Beseech your Lordship to send me Word, uppon some Conference as shall seem good unto you, what Answer I may send unto my Lord of *Essex* of his Letter, herewith sent unto you, Whether he may take upp Men by the Dozen, or not: And also to send me Word, by this Bayrer, what Newes is come owt of *Ireland*. The 15th of *July*, 1573.

*Your Lordship's to command,*

FRANCIS KNOLLYS.

*To the Right Honourable, and his very good Lord,  
the Earl of Suffex, Lord Chamberlyn.*

*An*



*An original Letter or Warrant from Richard Earl of Warwick, to the Receiver of the late Dutchess of Warwick's Estate, his Sister, dated the 18th of November, 30 Hen. VI. Signed with Lord Warwick's own Hand.*

RICHARD *Erl* of WARREWIC,

**T**O our Receivor-General of our Lordships, Lands, and Tenements, that to us happeneth afre the Dethe of that noble and worthie Princeffe, our worshipful Lady and Syfter *Cecile*, late Dutchess of *Warrewic*, gretynge : We charge you, that of the Revenue of the same, or of our Part of the same, comying, ye pay unto our trusty Servant *Thomas Colte*, in Part of Payment of a gretter Sume, by ye to him due ; by Warrant of three Years. Under our Signet, the 18th Day of *November*, the 30th Yere of the Reign of King *Henry Sixt*, sith the Conquest.

R. WARREWIC.

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*Anno 37<sup>o</sup> Hen. VIII. 1541.*

By the QUEEN.

CATERYN *the Queen*, K. R.

**R**IGHTE trustie and righte well-belovede, we grete you well : And whereas we be credeblye enformed, that this Bearer, *George Tresham*, one of my Lord Prince his Gentlemen, hathe contynued of long tyme a Suitor, to atteigne, by way of Purchase, certen Landes, amounting to above Fiftye Poundes by Yere ; and in the same Purchase to have Allowance in Lande for a certen Annuitic ; which he hathe under the King's Letters Patent :

Patentes: We perceiving, that the saide *Tresham* hathe right honestlie served hethertowardes my saide Lorde Prince, his Master; the Advancement of whose lovyng and faithfull Servants we do not for his Sake a little tendre; am therefore resolved herebie to requiere and praye you to move and advance his honeste and reasonable Suite, in suche wise as the same may the rather, for this our Request, take Effect and be obtayned. Wherebie ye shall be sure to deserve and have our loving and most heartie Thanks. From my Lorde the King's Majestie's Palace of *Westmynster*, the 28th Day of *February*, in the 36th Yere of his moste gracious Reigne.

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*An original Letter from Richard Sampson and Richard Jarnegan, to K. Henry VIII. with Intelligence concerning the Duke of Bourbon, &c. 1523.*

*Please it your Highnesse,*

BY dyvers Espialls from dyvers Places, Newis are here owt off *France*, the 8th and 28th Day of *Septembre*, agreing all in one; wheroff som are Gentyllmen off the Emperor's sent from hense: And most espically Newis from the Capitaine of *Purpinian* \*, the which is Great Prior off *Seinct Thou's*, and the Emperor's Lieutenant there, that Monsieur *de Bourbon* is not only declared, but also joyned with the *Allmans*, and many Nobles and Gentyllmen off *Fraunce* with hym; and, for this tyme, that the *French* King hath left his fervent pretendyd Journey over the Mountains, revoking all his Armie, with all Diligence, to give Battayll to the seyde Duke; which is the only Desire of the Duke, as Monf. *de Bewreyn* saith: Notwithstanding, in case he shall not think or fynde hymself well-puissant, owther he wyll joyne with your Grace's Armie, or else with the Emperor's.

And that to the *French* King, being at *Granoble* in *Dolphanie*, to advance with all Diligence his Armie into *Italie*,  
come

\* Sic Orig.



come with most Spede, by Post, owther a Page or a Secretarie (which of the too yet they be not certaine here), disclosing to him all the whole Affayre of the Duke, and many other Personages by Name: Wherfor, by a Post, the *French King* retourned to *Lyons*, and ther he fownde thes five Personages; *Monf. de Saint Valier*, *Lenesque de Puis*, *Monf. de Prie*, *Chamuegre*, and *Hagart*; calling to hym of them one after the other: And, for the tym off ther being in his Prefance, so shewed unto them good Visage, as thow he had nothing known: But, before they com to ther Logings, they were attached; the first three he kept with him, and the other two he sent to *Paris*.

And morovyr, with Diligence, he sent one *Perot*, Warde off his Pryvie Chambre, to the Duke, to signifie, that with Haste the King was desirous to speke with him at *Lyons*: And thow that he ware very importune, saying, that he durst not retourne without hym; yet the Duke causyd him to departe, among other sharpe Words, with thes allso; *That right shortly the King should both hear off him, and see him.*

*Monsieur de Alberet*, he that claymith the Kingdom off *Navarre*, hath so began to treate allso with the Emperor, that ther is off hym great Trust: And hath sayd, that once the Emperor's Armie being in the Enemies Grownde, he wyll so demean him, that his Majesty shall be content. And when as the *French King*, at this sodayne Troble, sent with Spede to his Countrees off *Alberet* and *Fois*, to levie Men; and, by reason off the same Commaundement, a Capitaine of his, callyd *Sempo*, had levyd a certaine Nombre; he causyd not only strycte Proclamation to be made, that no Man of his Countrees should aryse without his expresse Commaundement; but he sent allso for the sayd Captaine, to punish him for such Presumption without his Knowleg.

Newis be allso here, that in *Picardie*, *Monf. de le Cremoyle*, with all his Bande, to the Nombre off 150 Men of Armes, be slayne and takyn.

Newis

Newis also be owt off *Italie*, that one *Bonifatius Vicecounte*, whom the Duke off *Milane* trusted for his Frende, going with the sayd Duke a hunting, and many othir, com to such as rode aftyr the Duke, saying, that because of the Duste it was the Duke's Pleasure they shuld follow more behynde: And at the sam tym was one off the *Bentyvolus* off *Bononie* talking with the Duke. The sayd *Bonifatius* com to the Duke behynde, and, with a Dagard, was stryking into the Duke; the which *Bentyvolus* perceyving, sodenly so warnid the Duke with a Crye, that the Duke so shranke, that, wherelse, as it was thowght, he shuld have slayne hym, he strokke hym but a litle in the Shuldre: And the Traytor, with a good Horse, fledde and savyd hymselff. By our poor Opinions, Sir, a great Example for your Highnesse, and all othir great Princes, the rathir to provyd agenst thes abominable Practis.

They have causyd, in *Fraunce*, both a Brute, and also Fyers off Joy to be made, that *Milane* is recovered againe; the which is here thowght feynid, by such Bruts to quiete the Mynds of the People: Unlesse, for othir great contrarie Chaunsys, all ther Favours and Hartes shuld also be contrarie.

Monfieur *de Bewreyne* hath shewid of three especiall things, the which hath causyd the Duke of *Burbone* to thes Partes: *First*, aftyr his Retorne owght off *Italie*, wheras he had servid the King with 5000 Fotemen, and 400 Horsemen, of his own proper Charge, the King toke from him his Pension: The *Second*, that, now at the last Warres in *Champaine*, he servid in lyke manner with 5000 Fotemen, and 4 or 500 Horsemen; and ther, to his great Dishonour, the Duke committyd the Fowarde to the Duke off *Alanson*, belonging unto him by his Office off the Counstable: The *Third*, notwithstanding that he hath dyvers tymes made his most humble Suyte to have such Proceffe agenst him, as othir of the Sang Royal hath beyn accustomyd to have, agenst all Ordre off Justice, he hath, by his expresse Commaundement, causyd the Chauncelier, with othir three of his Counseyll,



to gyve Sentence agensf him in the Mattre of the Duchie off *Bur-*  
*bone.*

Ther is newly come hither a Servant off the sayd Duke, think-  
ing, as he saith, to have fownde his Mastre here; for, at his de-  
parting, he knew not wher he was become; for the thing was so  
sodeyne, that the Duke sent to him, wheras he was gethering off  
Men for his Mastre, and to all other his Friends, that they shuld  
shyft for themselffs: And more knowith not; but, that either  
he is joined with the *Altmaines*, or else with your Grace's Armie.

And, astyr many othir Appointements, we think, Sir, that the  
Emperor's Majestie will now departe from this Town, towards  
*Pampilone*, the 8th Day off this Monith: And off thes Delays we  
think ther is no Faulte in the Emperor's Majestie; but that Want  
of Money is the chyfe. And also wheras dyvers great Personages  
hath promised eighty Men off Armes, for every one off them one  
Man, and Horse for a Man of Armes, as is the Manner of *Spaine*:  
And the Ordres of *Spaine* also hath lykewyse promysed many:  
So that in them restith the Emperor's Force. Few off thes be  
yet com or passyd: And there is, Sir, a common Proverbe off  
*Spaine*, That *the Ayde of it is at all times slow and late.* We  
think, Sir, by the first, it shall be the lattre Ende of this Monith  
before they may entre with any Armie.

We wrot also, in our former Lettres, of Shippes lately re-  
turned from the *India's* with much Golde: The Emperor now,  
for his Necessitie, hath sent for all the Whole, to be repaid  
againē hereastyr as knowith our Lord; who preserve your most  
royall Estate. At *Logrono*, the 5th Day off *Octobre.*

*Your most humble Subjects and Servants,*

RICHARD SAMPSON.

RICHARD JARNEGAN.

*To the King's Highness.*

*An original Letter from the Lords of the Council to  
to Sir Henry Raddecliff.*

AFTER our verie hartie Commendations: According as we wrote unto you Yesterdaie, we have nowe conferred with Mr. Peibam, at Length; and do returne him unto you fullie instructed in those Matters to be done there for the Strength and good Defence of that Place; we requiring you to credit him, and to joyne with him for the accomplishing of all things appointed. And for such Money as is appointed to be sent unto you, we require you to haive Care that it be spent with good Husbandrie, and employed to the best Purpose, for Advancement of hir Majesty's Service. And so, referring you to him, we bid you right hartilie farewell. From Reading, the 21st of September, 1572.

*Your loving Friends,*

W. BURGHLEY, T. SMYTH,  
E. LINCOLN, F. KNOLLYS,  
F. BEDFORD, WM. MILDMAY.  
T. SUSSEX,

*To our verie loving Friend, Sir Henrie Raddecliff,  
Knight, Captaine of Portesmouth.*

*An original Letter from the Lords of the Council to  
Mr. Chancellor North. A° 37 H. VIII.*

*Mr. Chancellor,*

AFTER our hartie Commendations: These shall be to requyre you to receyve the Lord Grey's Bill for the Lands granted by the King's Majesty, unto him, and his Heires Males, in such forte as he may injoye the Profitts, from the 23d Daye of



*February* last past ; which was the Day of his Creation : And thus fare you hartily well. From *Westminster*, the 8th of *December*, 1545.

*Your loving Friends,*

T. WRIOTHESLY, <i>Cancel.</i>	SUFFOLK,
J. RUSSELL,	T. NORFFOLK,
THO. WESMORLAND,	E. HERTFORD,
THO. NORTH, <i>L. K.</i>	WM. PAGET,

*To our loving Friend Sir Edward North, Knight,  
Chancellor of the Augmentations of the Revenues  
of his Highnes Works.*

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*An original Letter from the Earl of Salisbury to Mr.  
Francis Segar.*

*Mr. SEGAR,*

I Have received your Letter by this Bearer, the Landgrave's Servant ; wherein you have given me a double Contentment. First, because I understand by yow of his Highness's well-doing ; who, as well for his owne Vertues, as for his particular Affection to his Majesty, I have Cause to love and honour, and would be glad to do him any Service. Secondly, for those Advertisements which yow sent me, of diverse Occurences in those Parts ; which though sometymes they have the ordinarie Fortune that others have of being prevented by former Intelligences, yet howsoever, if you please to contynue the same Course with me still (when you may do it without Charge to yourself), they can never come so unseasonably unto me, but you shall make me the more beholden. For the Lines which you sent me, I do likewise give you many Thanks ; which is the best Requital I can yet tell  
how

how to make you, until some better Occasion present itself, wherein I may make it appear, by Effects, how much I am

September, 1607.

*Your loving Friend,*

SALISBURY.

*To my very loving Friend Mr. Francis Segar,*

*Gentleman of the Chamber to the Lansgrave of Hesse.*

N. B. In the *Asbmolean* Library, 840. page 787. is a Letter from Mr. *Francis Segar*, dated *Cassel* 1605. to the Earl of *Salisbury*. V. Cat. MSS. in *Angl. & Hibernia*, N<sup>o</sup>, 8426.

*An original Letter from the Lords of the Council to the Lord Northe.*

*Anno 1<sup>o</sup> Elizabethæ.*

AFTER our right hearty Commendations to your good Lordship : These shall be to signify unto you, that the Queen's Highness hath appoynted you to joyne with the Lord Treasurer concerning the Order and Provision for the Enterment of the late Quene ; when her Majestie doubteth not you will use such a Respekte as be convenyent for her Majesty's Honour and Profit. We require you therefore, that, taking with you Sir *Walter Mylemay*, who is lykewise appointed to assist in the Premisses, you do together repayre to the said Lord Treasurer, for the further Charge and Expences of this Charge, now committed unto you. Thus faire your good Lordship right hartely well.

From *Hatfield*, the Ninetecnth of *November*, 1558.

*Your Lordship's loving Friends,*

PEMBROKE,	F. CLYNTON,
W. HOWARD,	AB. CANE,
THO. BARRY,	W. CECILLE.
HENRY WETYLE,	

*To our very good Lorde the Lord Northe.*

*An*



*An original Safe Conduet, signed by Queen Elizabeth in her own Hand, to two Merchants of the Emperor of Morocco's.*

ELIZABETH, R.

**E**LIZABETH, by the Grace of God, Queene of *England, France, and Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our Admiralls, Vice-Admiralls, Capteines, and others serving on the Seas, or in any other Townes, Castells, or Forces, on the Sea Coast: To all our Officers of our Ports, and to all other our Officers and Subjects, to whom, in this Case, it shall appertain, greeting: Whereas the King of *Morocco*, by his Letters, written in *November* last, hath made Request to us, that it might please us to grant our Safe Conduet and Licence to *Lewes Fernandes*, and *Salvador Monez*, Merchants, that they might, with their Ships and Vessels, quietly pass from the Centre of *Barbary*, through the narrow Seas, with their Merchandizes to *Andwerpe*; and there exchanging the same for other Commodities, to return and pass quietly and directly into the Dominions of the said King in *Barbary*, without any manner of Arrest, Impeachment, or Trouble, to be moved to them, during the Abstinence of Enter-course betwixt us and the King of *Spain*, our Subjects and Countries: We are pleased, that, according to the said King's Request, the said *Lewes Fernandes*, and *Salvador Monez*, and their Factors, shall, during the said Abstinence, with their Ships carrying only the Merchandizes and Goods of the said King of *Morocco*, and coming from *Barbary*, quietly pass through the narrow Seas to *Andwerpe*, and from thence to return into the Dominions of the said King of *Morocco* only, and not into any other Part of the King of *Spain's* Countries. And so we will and strictly command you, and every of you, to permit and suffer,

from time to time, the Ships and Vessels laden with the said King's Goods and Merchandizes only, under the Conduct of the said *Lewes Fernandes*, and *Salvador Monez*, or their Factors, quietly to pass through our Seas without any your Arrest or Trouble. And if they shall be driven to come into any our Ports, Havens, or Creeks, that they may be favourably used; and, at their Commoditie, to depart away from thence without any Impediment or Let. And these our Letters shall be your sufficient Warrant and Discharge in this Behalf. Given under our Signet, at our Honour of *Hampton Court*, the Eleventh Day of *June*, 1570. In the Twelfth Year of our Reign.

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*An original Letter from Mr. William Petres to the Earl of Suffex.*

AFTER my humble Commendations to your good Lordshipp: I do hartely thank yow for your Letters, which I received Yesterday; and for Awnswar to your Lordshipp's Letters to the Queenes Majestie, yow shall receive herewith her Highness Awnswar, toching the Treatye now in Hand at *Edinborough*. I would have advertised your Lordship before this tyme, but that Things passed hitherto in Talk, and only Lyklehood now of Peace and Agreement, and sometimes of Likelihood of Breache. And yet hitherto we heard of no full Conclusion. This Morning there be come Letters from the Commissioners, which give good Hope of a full Conclusion. With the *Scots* there is an honourable End taken, much to ours and their Satisfaction: But this Conclusion is conditional; so as the Accord be made also with the Queene's Majestie's Commissioners. As soone as any full Agreement shall be signified, your Lordshipp shall be more particularly informed of all Things. By this Bearer the Queene's Highnes Signett for that Realme is sent unto yow; others I have not;



not ; and therefore leave to trouble yow, resting always at your Lordshipp's Commandment. From *Greenwich*, the Seventh of *Julie*, 1560.

*Your good Lordship's always to command,*

WILLIAM PETRES.

*To the Right Honourable, and my very good  
Lord, the Erle of Suffex, Lord Lieutenant  
of Ireland.*

*An original Letter from the Bishop of Carlisle to the  
Earl of Suffex.*

MY moste bounden Dewtie of humble Commendations premised, and my Service alwaies at youre good Lordshippes Commandment assured ; I am bold to beseeche, and most humbly to crave, your Honor's lawfull and good Favour and Furtherance towards a poore blinde Woman, and her poore Children, *Elizabeth Beeste*, late Wife to my Predecessour at *Carlisle* ; who is in good Forwardness to receive some Relief at the Queene's Majestie's gracious Hands, towards the Payment of the Debtes to the Quene, before his Death, in Consideration of great Charges ; which he is said in the Quene's Service to have sustayned ; and the rather by your good Means and Helpe ; which to bestowe, I dowte not your Honor will be redie, according to your accustomed Wont. And for that Ende my simple Sewte is, if the same unto your Honor may be found reasonable, and seeme worthie to be consydered. And thus beseeching your good Lordship to holde me excused in thus presumptuously troubling your Honore with Sewtes and Letters ; and to accompte of me as of one, who whoolye resteth yours at Commandment, in all respects, I beseeche God to blesse and prosper you, and heepe on  
you

you his hevenlye Graces, with Encrease of much Honor. From  
*Torke*, the 17th Daye of *Januarie*, 1570.

*Your Lordshippe's moste bounden,  
and ever at Commandment,*

RICHARD CARLEOLEN.

*To the Right Honorable, and my singular good Lorde, the  
Erle of Suffex, Lorde Lieutenant, and President in  
the Northe Parts, and one of the Quene's Majestie's  
most honorable Privy Councill: At the Court deliver  
these.*

*An original Letter from Lady Mountegle to the Duke  
of Norfolke.*

MY humble Dutie remembred unto your Grace: It may please  
the same to stand good and gracious Lorde unto my poor  
Daughter, nowe lesse in great and extreme Miserye, by the  
Deathe of her late Lord and Husband the Lord *Dacre*, of the  
North. And nowe the onelic Aide and Comforte, on the con-  
trary, resteth in your Grace; whom I do most humbly beseeche  
to stande her gracious and good Lord, in this her present Ne-  
cessitie, the Effectes of my humble Sute and Request. This  
Bearer, Mr. *Chatetow*, can declare unto you, to whom yt may  
please your Grace to geve therein Credyt; and I, according to  
my bounden Duetie, shall be and remain your Grace's humble  
and dailie Bede-woman, as Almighty God knowethe; whom I  
beseeche preserve your Grace in longe and prosperous Health and  
Honour. From *London*, the 8th of *July*, 1566.

*Your humble and obedyent Bede-woman,*

ELYN MOUNTEGLE.

*To the Right Honourable the Duke  
of Norfolk, his Grace.*

D d

To



*To the Earl of Suffex, Lord President in the North.*

**I**T may please your good Lordship, although I know I nede not, in any generall Cause of Justice, nor yet in this private Request for my Lord of *Rutland* being in my Chardg, move your Lordship to yeld your Favor; yet, to satisfy my Lord of *Rutland's* Expectation of my Credit with your Lordship, I do boldly and earnestly beseeche your Lordship, that one Mr. *Roofs* of *Igmathorp*, a Kynsman of my Lord of *Rutland's*, may have your Lordship's Favour in his Causes; and that the Gentleman may well perceave, that for my Lord's sake your Lordship doth favor hym: And so I shall contynew beholden to your Lordship. From *Otland's*, in som Haft, 31 July 1569.

*Your Lordship's humbly at Command,*

*To the Right Honorable my very good Lord  
the Erle of Suffex, Lord President of the  
Counsell in the North.*

W. CECIL.

*To the Earl of Suffex.*

*My good Lord,*

**I**Humbly and hartily thank you of this Fruit of your assured Frendshipp, to send, as you have done, to me, to understand of that you thought to be my Greeff: And howsoever I was a little greved, I am, I thank God, many ways releved: First, and originally, for that I understand that my Daughter's Sicknes is not thought by the Physicians dangerous; and next (which ought to be in the highest Degree, though the other be more natural), the Queen's Majesty's Goodnes, to send to me in this case, ought to have greatest Accompt. And so now, my Lord, as Mr. *Woolls* can tell, I am in Helth; and so wish to your Lordship, from the Bottom of my Heart, all that I think due to you and yours; or else God send me no Part of any Comfort. At my poor House of *Theobald's*, this 15th of January 1572.

*Your Lordship's at Command,*

*To my very good Lord the Erle of Suffex.*

W. BURGHLEY.

*An original Letter from the Lord Hunfdon to the Earl of Suffex.*

GOOD my Lorde, after my humble Commendations; for that it shuld not appere unto you, I shuld seame forgetful of you, having iuste and many Causes to remembre you, I thought mere to trubble you with a few Lines; althoughe I dowt not ye are sufficientlie advertysed by other of your Friends of the Certainty of such Affayres and Busyness as have happened here. The Trueth is, we have Peace in *Scotland*, upon such Compositions as are not yet thorowlie knowne, or at the least published, so as I may thorowlie declare the same. The yonge King of *Swithland* is looked for, but notwithstanding cometh not so soon as hathe been thought; but it is certen, for anie thing yet is known, bothe he, and dyvers others of those Parts, will be here shortlie. And besides, the Duke *de Nemours*, with others out *France*, and other Peeres of *Scotland*, will arryve here, within a short Space, for the Conclusion of Quietness in the North Partes. So having nothing else to advertyse your Lordship, I comit the same to Almighty God. From the Courte, the 12th of *July*, 1560.

*Your good Lordship's assured loving Friend,*

H. HUNSDON.

*An original Letter from the Duke of Norfolke to the Earl of Suffex.*

I Am at the last arrived at the Court, good Cosyne, after long Delays, where, by my Will, I mind not long to tarry. All Things at my coming out of the North were in as good State as it was possible to make broken Matters to be. God send the Queen's Majesty quickly to take Order for the Redress thereof;



it is now an easy Matter to do it, which with prolonging may become almost impossible. I have received at the Queen's Majesty's great Heap of fair Words, both openly and privately. Her Majesty promises me great Matters, God send me to feel of some in Effect, as by *my Lords* here I am put in good Hope. Thus being sorry, that through my Man's Negligence I have been faine to make your Man tarry for this Scribbling so long, I bid you, good Cosyne, most heartilye farewell. Pray make my Commendations unto my Lady. From *Southampton*, the 1st of *August*, 1560.

*Your loving Cosyne assuredly,*

THOMAS NORFOLKE.

*An original Letter from the Duke of Norfolke to the Earl of Suffex.*

I Am glad, good Cosyne, that in the Ende the Queen's Majestye will consider of the Service you have done her in *Ireland*, not dowrynge, but that Tyme shall brynge her Majesty to know her true and heartye Servants from dyssemblyng and flattering Lyars; and as to the or any others, they be soe estrante Lyes, as I care lyttle for them. I thynke the World thynkes we have not so lyttle Wit to deal in that Sort; but if some Heads were not occupied in some Matters, the Clock should stand still: I smell whence these Storyes rise: I, for my own Parte, remain ready at all tymes, upon my Friend's Advertisements. Marry, and if by any means it might be, I would be very lothe to come unsent for, if Occasion served for my comyng. Mr. Secretary may soon dyvvyse to cause the Queen's Majesty to claime my Promise; which is upon a Letter from him, to come up with all Speed. I shall doe more Good, being sent for, than in comyng upon any other Occasion: But because I here

cannot so well judge what is best to be done as you there, and Mr. Secretary, I have sent myself to be ordered therein as you two shall thinke good: And so for this tyme, thankyng you for your friendly Letters, I bid you, good Cosyne, most heartylye farewellle. From *Norwich*, this 15th of *July*, 1565.

*Your assured loving Cosyne,*

T. NORFOLKE.

---

*An original Letter from the Duke of Norfolk to the Earl of Suffex.*

I Thanke you, good Cosyne, for your Letter. As I am glad to hear from you, so I am sorry, that should still bear the Stroke, and especially in such Causes as do, in my Opinion, so much import the State, and all the Subjects of this Land. I perceiue bothe by your Letter, as also by other Means, how assured a Friend Mr. Secretary sheweth himself towards me, in every Cause wherein his Friendship may stand me in stead, wherein as he hath nothing deceyved me, so, if ever it lie in my Power, he shall find me ready to requite it to the utmost. If there were any thing here worth the Writing, you should both hear oftner from me, as also at more Length; but hence we have nothing to write of but of ill Hearts, and worse Weather; and therefore for this time, good Cosyne, wishing to you as to myself, I bid you most heartily farewellle, with my most hearty Commendations to your good Lady. From *Norwich*, this 5th of *March*, 1565.

*Your assured loving Cosyne,*

T. NORFOLKE.



*An original Letter from the Duke of Norfolk to Mr.  
Secretary Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh.*

AS I have ever hoped, so have I found your faithful Friendship shewed towards me, good Mr. Secretary : Yea even in this Tyme of my Trouble, when I have most Need thereof, and although I count myself most beholden for sundry Friendships heretofore received at your Hands ; yet this Favour that STRANGE hath found in my Behalf during my Imprisonment, doth double all that is past before. Prosperity never wanteth Friendship, but Adversity trieth the true Friend ; which, in Recompence of ; I can do little ; but what I may, during my Life, make yourself assured thereof, if ever it lyeth in my Power to requite the same. The new Liberty that I have received doth not so much comfort me (altho' a small thing is a great Reliefe to a Prisoner) as I do rejoyce, that STRANGE told me that it came without any sour Sawce. I hope that God will put into her Majesty's Heart, to know with what a dutyfull Heart I have served her Highness, and so intend to do during my Life ; and then I have no Doubt, but that as her Majesty hath begun to shew some Spark of Favour to her true Subject, so she will increase the same, as may best seem to her Highness's good Pleasure ; whereby I may remain able hereafter yet to serve her Majesty ; without the which I think my crazed Body can have no long Continuance. And thus, with my hearty Thanks to you, good Mr. Secretary, for your Friendship, that you have already shewed, with like Request for your Continuance therein, as you shall think Time most fittest to work me Good, I bid you most heartily farewell. From my unfavoury Lodging, this 13th of *April*, 1567.

*Your ever most beholden,*

T. NORFOLKE.

*To my loving Friend Sir Wm. Cecil, Knight,  
Principal Secretary to the Queen's Majesty.*

*An*

*An original Letter from the Lord Wharton to the  
Earl of Suffex.*

*Right Honorable, and my singular good Lord,*

**A**S there is no Man more glad, that it haith pleased the Quene's Highnes to graunt unto your Lordship to be her Majesty's Lord President of her Counsell in the North; even so shall I be as glad, wherein I may do unto your Lordship Service, to her Highnes's Honour and yours. Your Lordship hath alredy a great Love, and common Fame of your Worthynes to that Office. Trewlie, my good Lord, your honorable and wise Doings in that Office will be to your Commendation for ever.

Pleaseth your Lordship, I have a House Six Myles from *York*: I do humbly and most hertely beseeche your Lordship to command that House to repose yourself in, as you would use your owne; and those little Things I have shall be also at your Lordship's Commandement. The Use of them by your Lordship will be to my great Comfort. I hear also, that my verie good Lord of *Hunsden* cometh downe in your Company, to be the Quene's Majestie's Captaine of *Warwick*. I have had some Knowlege of those Offices. I praie you give my hearty Commendation to his Lordship, and desire him, in my Name, that he will also tack his Lodging in my House, and repose himself in the same. And thus, with my most hartie Commendations, my Wife's, and my Sonne's, I will praie to God to send unto your Lordship as much Encrease of Honour as your owne noble Heart shall desire. At my House at *Helvington*, Six Miles from *York*, the 28th of July, 1568.

*Your good Lordship's assuredly to command,*

THO. WHARTON.

*To the Right Honorable, and my singular  
good Lord, the Erle of Suffex, and the  
Lord President of the Queen's Majesty's  
Councel in the North.*

*An*



*An original Letter from Lord Windfor to Lord Suffex.**Right Honorable,*

**M**Y humble Dutie remembred unto your good Lordship:  
 Whereas I understand your Lordship hath directed your Warrant for two of my Servants to appear before your Lordship, as I conceive, for Matters of Hunting about the Quene's Majestie's Chase of *Whadeane*, against whom perhaps your Lordship hath heard more grievous Informations then may be justlie proved; pleaseth it your good Lordship this much to understand of me for Truth, that as neither I, nor any my Servants, have been at anie tyme grete Hunters of the Purlieus about the Chace, and much less in the Chace, although I thinke your Lordship be so informed; so if by my Commandement my Servants take only my grey Hounds to see them come at the Deer in the Purlieu, and out of the Chace, I trust your Lordship will allow of that, seeing it is lawful: And for anie Matter that the Keepers can justlie prove to be done by anie of my Servants within the Chace, I will undertake for them to aunswere it by such Order of Lawe, as your Lordship shall think mete in such Cases; most humbly requesting your Lordship's Favour towards the poor Men, in the mean tyme, until your Lordship may thorowlie be informed of the Truth of the Matter. And thus doing, I shall praie for your Lordship's Increase of Honor, as knowith our Lord. From *Addington*, the 7th of *March*, 1570.

*By your Lordship's humbly to command,*

EDWARD WYNDESORE.

*To the Right Honorable, and my  
 singular good Lord, the Erl of  
 Suffex, give these.*

*An*

To Mr. Secretary P---

Good Mr. Secretarie,

I Most heartely thank you for your speedy sending away of my  
Servant's Letters to me, in Answer of myne sent before to  
them, for my Causes in *Bedfordshire*.

I perceiv suche as sue against me have Fortherance with Spede;  
and if it be not holpen upon those Letters I now sende, which  
I beseeche yow to cause to be delivered, I shall be driven, either  
to come up myself (which, at this present, I may not do in re-  
spect of the Services in Hand) or to trouble you to be a Meane  
for me to the Queen's Majesty, in that which I wolde be lothe  
to move, but upon Necessitie. And therefore I forbear to  
trouble you therewith, until I receive Answer of the Letters I  
nowe send; which I beseeche yow to cause to be dispatched to me  
so soon as my Servant shall deliver them to yow. And so, with  
my moste heartie Commendations to yow, and my good Ladie,  
I wyshe unto yow bothe as to myself. From *Chirwod*, the Last of  
*Maye*, 1569.

Lord Strange to the Earl of Suffex,

My very good Lorde,

BEING overtaken in *London Way*, by one of youre Ser-  
vantes, as I went towards my Father's, I thought it my  
Parte to write these few Lines to your Lordship, although I had  
no great Store of Newes, but suche as I thinke your Servant  
peradventure hath harde of. Yet your Lordship shall under-  
stande, that at my beinge at the Courte, I sawe a Note of the  
Prince of *Swedia* his Train, which he bringethe hither; which  
I have sent to your Lordship herein enclosed. Further, I harde,  
that the Duke de *Nemours*, withe divers other of the Nobilitie of



*Fraunce*, are looked for sumwhat before the cumminge of the Prince, which is thoght will be within this Monthe or Six Wekes: What the Occasion of theyr cummyng is fertynlye, I knowe not as yet. Thus havynge no other Newes worthy the Wrytynge, I make an End, desyrynge your Lordship to beare withe me, for that I have not written nor sent to your Lordship heretofore, and to make my Commendations to my good Ladye. From *Stone*, this 14th of July, 1560.

Your Lordship's assured lovinge Cousen to command,

H. STRANGE.

To the Right Honorable, and my very good Lord  
and Cousen, the Earl of Suffex, Lord Lieutenant  
of Ireland, with Spede.

---

*An original Letter from Lord R. Duddley to the Countess  
of Suffex.*

*My good Lady and Sister,*

I Most hartly thank you for your gentle and frendly Remembrance, especially with such Jewells as you have sent me, in whome I take no small Delight. I wold I wear as well able to requyte your Ladyship, as I shall alway accompt myself bound unto you: Notwithstanding I hope your Ladyship will make that Reckoning of me, that you will of one that will be ready to do you all the Pleasure or Servyce I may; and so will trowble you no more with ceremonyall Words.

I have no Newes to send your Ladyship, but of the good Estate of the Queen's Majesty, who is now well passed on her Progres; and, by means of Advertysements of a great Prince's comynge veary shortly, causeth her to make that outward almost a posting Journey, rather then a Progres: But, for that we hear his Comynge is not so sudden, I suppose we shall come homeward with

some

some more Leasure. All other good Newes of her Success abroad, I am sure you know it by my Lord, hearing of my Lord *Montague*, who Yesterday aryved in the West, safe and well, and will be at the Court within few Days. Your Friends all lykewyse are in vearly good Health; my Syster *Sydney* lacking within Six or Seven Weeks to be delyvered of a Child: God send you shortly the lyke Sykness, which I trust he will. And so praing for you both as for myself, I most hartly commend me to you both. And so take Leave for this Tyme. At *Farnham*, this 6th of *August*.

*Your Ladyship's assured Friend and Brother,*  
*To the right honourable my good Lady* R. DUDDLEY.  
*and Syster the Countes of Suffex.*

As my Lord President is now nyc you, you hear every Day from him, or else blame him.

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*Two Letters from Lord Cobham (then Governor, as supposed, of Dover Castle) intimating the Progresse of Queen Elizabeth, in those Parts; and of an epidemical Sicknesse in Kent at that time, 1573.*

*My very good Lorde,*

According to my bounden Dewtey, I have come along the Coaste, especially in those Porte-Townes where it is appointed that her Majesty will come, in this her Progresse: And have taken Order, that the Officers of the said Townes shall, from time to time, advertise your good Lordship how the same doe stande in Health. Hoping, ere this tyme, that your Lordship have heard from the Mayor of *Sandewyche*, of the State of that Town; where I am informed, that some of late have dyed, and some Sicknesse yet remaining in other Houses there.

I do herewith recommend unto your good Lordship, the State of *Dover Castle*: The Lodgings whereof I have seen, and do



fynde them (by reason they have not been of longe tyme byen in) to be both dampsh and mustey, and therefore very necessary that some be sent down to make Fyres in the said Lodgings, a good while before her Majesty come thither, and to see the same both well ayred and sweted; for otherwise they will be noysome unto her Highnesse. And thus I commit your good Lordship to the Protection of Almighty God. From my House at Cobham, the 13th of July, 1573.

*Your good Lordship's to command,*  
COBHAM.

*My very good Lorde,*

According to your good Lordship's Letter, I have taken Order for the ayring and makinge swete of her Majesty's Lodgings in Dover Castell.

I send yow herein enclosed, a Letter written unto me, from the Mayor of Canterbury, wherein your good Lordship shall perceive in what State of Health the said City dothe stand in. And thus I commit your good Lordship to the Protection of Almighty God. From my House at Cobham, the 16th of July, 1573.

*To the Right Honorable, and my very good Lorde,  
the Earle of Suffex, Lord Chamberlayne to her  
Majesty, and one of her Highnesse's most hono-  
rab'e Privy Council.*

*Your good Lordship's assuredly to command,*  
W. COBHAM.

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*An original Warrant for a Buck, from Q. Katherine,  
1526. signed with her own Hand.*

KATRYNE Queene.

WE will and command you, that uppon the Sightte herof, that ye delyver, or cawse to be delyvered, unto owr trusty and welbeloved Sarvantt John Creusse, of Crusham Orchard\*, or

\* This is now called Cruwys Morchard, and the Estate of John Cruwys, Clerk, A. M. Rector of the said Parish, lineally descended, as I am informed, from John Creusse, mentioned in this Letter.

or to the Brynget herof, in his Name, one Buck of Season; to be taken as of owre Gyfte owre of owre Park of Ockhampton, though any Restraynth, Commandmentt, had or mad to the contrary that notwithstandinge: And that ye herof sayl not, as ye tendre owre Plesure. Gevyn at the Manor of Skute, the 10th Day of September, in the 18th Yere of the Raigne of owre Soverayn Lorde Kynge Henra the VIIIth.

To our trusty and welbelovéd Sarvant Robert Cruewis,  
Keeper of oure Parke of Okhampton; and in his  
Absence, to his Deputy or Deputies.

---

From Katherine Basslet to her Mother the Lady Lisle.

Madame,

IN my humble wyse, my Dewtye done to your Ladyship, desyeryng yow of your daylye Blessyng; certifying your Ladyship, that my Lord of Rutland, and my Ladye, be in good Health, and hathe them herelye recommendyd to your Ladiship, thankyng yow for yowre Wyne, and your Heryng, that yow sent them. Madame, my Ladye hath gyven me a Gown of \*Kassa Damask, of her own old wearyng; and that she wold in no wise that I shuld refuse yt. And I have spoken to Mr. Husse, for a Rowle of Buckeram to new lyne yt, and Velwyt to edge it withall. Madame, I humbly besече your Ladyship to be good Ladye and Mother to me: For my Ladye of Rutland sayth, that Mother Lowe, the Mother of the Dowche Maydes, maye do muche for my Preferment to the Queen's Highness; so that your Ladiship wold sende her my good Token, that she myght the better remembre me; trustyng that your Ladyship wold be good Ladye unto me in this Behalf. Madame, I have received of Ravenfford two Crownes, for the whiche I humbly thank your Ladyship. I do lake a Ketyll for every Day: I besече

your

\* This is now called Caffoy.



your Ladyship that I maye have yt; and I desyer your Ladyship, that I maye be humblye recommended to my Lorde, and to my Sisters. Madam, my Brother *George* is in good Helthe, and is here in the Cowrt with Sir *Francis Brian*. And thus the Holy Ghost have yow in his Kepyng, who send your Ladyship good Lyffe, and Length, to his Plesure. Wrytten at *Torke's Place*, the 17th Daye of *February*,

By your humble Daughter,

KATHERINE BASSET.

To the Right Honourable, and my very  
good Lady and Mother, my Lady Lillie,  
be this delyvered at Calais.

N. B. This is the Letter referred to in the first Letter; viz. To  
the Compiler of this Collection.

From the Lord Admiral to Lord Suffex.

I Thank your good Lordship for your Lettar, which I have received by your Sirvante this Berer; and am very glad to understand, that all things in the Reame under your Lordship doth go so well. I have no time, as your Sirvante can declare, to write long Lettar; and therefore, for Parte of the News that I know, I do send you herein, beside a Lettar sent to me thys Day by Sir *Nicolas Throgmorton*, out of *France*; other there is none, but that my Lord of *Norfolk's* Grace is thys Day arryvyd here, and all things in the North is quyet. The *French* King hath presently causyd his Ships to be dyarmed, and all the Vyttells provyded for the Seas to be sold; whereof Part, it is sayd, is sent into *Ireland* to be sold, as in my last Letter I wryte to you. There is no Fear remayning of any *Pretens* agaynst this Realm; for First, they will find their Causys much imbarast in their own Realm for Religion; and they wyll attempt agaynst

us nothing at such a tyme; and I trust, when they tyme is, we  
shal be sufficiently provyded for there Malls. The Queen's Ma-  
jesty's Navey, that were in the Fyrth in Scotland, are safely  
arrived at Portsmouth. I humbly tak my Leve of your Lordship.  
From Southampton, the 15th of August, 1560.

Your Lordship's assured to command,

E. CLYNTON.

To the Right Honorable, and my very good  
Lord the Erl of Suffex, Lord Lieutenant  
of the Realm of Ireland.

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From Sir Edward Hastings to Sir William Petre, and  
Sir Francis Inglefield, Knights, Commissioners of the  
King and Queen for Sale of Lands, dated the 29th of  
May, 1557.

AFTER my most hartty Commendations: The Queen's High-  
ness hath commanded me to signefye her Pleasure unto you  
the Commissioners for Sales, touching the Bearer hereof, Mr.  
Benet Lee, for the Purchase of his Farm, that notwithstanding  
that it is supposed to be Parcel of other of her Majestye's Lands,  
whereupon you have stayed to go through with him; yet her  
Highnesse having good Confidence of his Service done in her  
Tyme, and what Sicknes hath happened unto him, being not  
recompensed, as you, Mr. Inglefield, do well know; her High-  
nes is therefore contented and pleased, that you should go through  
with him, for the same his Request; praying you to use your  
lawful Favors unto him; and that he may be dispatched so soon  
as convenyently maye: And so I commit you to the Keeping of  
Almightie God. From the Court, this 29th of May, 1557.

Your assured loving Friend,

EDWARD HASTINGS.

Lady



*Lady Mary Sydney to the Earl of Suffex.*

I AM most bound unto your Lordship many wayes, and can but confes the same in my tru affectionat Hart, and Prayer to the Almighty Lord, to bleas you with all the Felicities in the World, as he hath begun, so many Years maye *England* enjoy you, in such Estate as your noble Vertues, and rare honorable Mynde, may long thereto be the Comfort many expect in you.

My good Lord, as it hath pleased you to advyse me, touching Sir *Walter Mildmay*, I will follow the same, and seek all the means I can to procure his Repayr to the Court To-morrow; beseechyng your Lordship most humbly, so far as it shall be no Truble unto you, it may please you to have me in Remembrance; which I find already hath greatly moved both my Brother, and my Lord of *Burley*, to be the more careful at my Suit to bringe it spedily to some good End. And thus, for trubling your Lordship enny longer, I take my Leave, with my most umble Thanks for your Lordship's Letters; which you may be sure is no small Comfort unto me. From *Whight-Hall*, this 9th of *March*.

Your Lordship's most bounden, faithfull Sister,

M. SYDNEY.

To the Right Honourable, and my very good Lord, the  
Earl of Suffex, of the most honourable Privy Counsell,  
and Knight of the Noble Order, give these.

*The Marquis of Winchester to the Earl of Suffex.*

AFTER my verie hartie Commendations to your good Lordship: I perceve, by your Letter, that you have releved your Warrant for 200 *l.* and 100 Oake, which your Lordship will

cau'e

cause to be well employed for the Queene; which shall be verie honourable for your Lordship, and a grate Contentation to her Majestye; and, when that is done, I trust your Lordship shall have your House in good Case; albeit not so well, in all thyngs, as your Lordship wolde have it: Wherein your Lordship must have Patience, as the Queene's Highnes hathe; for her Grace layeth away her owne Buildings, by reson of the grate Charges; and must be fane to do her Things as she may, and not with such Spede as she wolde, if she were not charged as she is: And therefore I must pray your Lordship to holde me excused for that I send you not another Warrant for another hundred Trees out of the Forest; for so I shall not pleas her, since that I know her Charge to be as it is. Thus fare your Lordship hartelie well, with Continuance of Health. Written this 22d of *April* 1569.

*Your Lordship's loving Friend,*

*To my very good Lord the Erle of Suffex,*

WINCHESTER.

*Lord President of the Queene's Majestye's Counsalle in the North Parts.*

*Hast, Hast, Post Hast, to York.*

*An original Letter of Sir Ed. Hastings to Lord -----.*

*Right Honourable,*

**B**EING urged by Necessity, I am forced at this present to crave moste humblye, that it myghte pleas youe to stande so muche my goode Lorde, as, by your Lordship's goode Meanes, her Majestye maye nott be offended for my Absense: For trewlye, my Lorde, I am in soe grate Nede, that if my Lorde my Brother weare not my verie good Lorde and Brother, I weare not able, by any Means possible, to seade my Wyffe and my Children; for all the Foode wherewith I am releved cometh only from his Lordship; and I must needs confess I have ben more careles of my

F f

Estate



Estate than by Reason I oughte to have ben; for that small Staye of Lyvyng which I had of my Lorde my Father, I was enforced to pass from me to one *Skynner*, a Mercer in *Cheape-syde*, to helpe to pay my Debtes withall; and trewlye it wasse a greate deale that I did owe: And the only Staye that I have is, One hundred Markes by the Yere, which my Wyffe brought me; and my Want is not so greate a Greaffe unto me, as that I must be enforced (for that I am nott any waye able to attende) to absent myself from doying of my Dutye in attending upon her Majesty, which would be to me mooste comfortable. Trewly, if I coulde devyse to redeeme my Hundred Pound a Yere, which *Skynner* dothe enjoye for Four Hundred, then nothings shulde be anye Stay unto me; but I woulde most willingly attende on her Majesty, as Duetye dothe bynde me, and as I most earnestlye doe Desyre: Therefore, good my Lord, for God's Sake, I humbly crave of you, that it woulde pleas you to be a Meane to her Majesty, that her Majesty may thynke that onlye Necesytye enforceth me to absent myself. Thus mooste humbly I crave Pardon, not only for that I have not satisfied your Lordship of that I am to your Lordship indebted, but also for trubling your Lordship at this present. Trewly, if God shulde call my Lord my Brother, I am altogether destitute of any House to shroud myself in. Thus, with my most humble Dutye, I commit your Lordship to the Almighty. *Thorpe*, this 13th of May, 1572.

*Your Honour's most humbly to command,*

EDWARD HASTINGS.

---

*From Richard Rich to the Earl of Suffex.*

AFTER my humble Commendations unto your good Lordship, with like Thanks unto the same, for that it hathe pleased you to graunt me License to fell Part of my Woods, in  
my

Manor of *Wanstead*, laying within the Forrest of *Waltham* in Countre of *Essex*; and hereby it may please you to understand, that the Part which I now desire to fell is usually called the Great Shrubbets, and is that which lyeth next towards *Woodford* Church, which containeth of Wood-Ground (abating divers Slips and Waste Places within the same), by Estimation, not much above Threescore Acres: Wherefore I shall humbly desire your Lordship to graunt unto me License for the felling of the same accordingly, under the Seal of your Office; and where I have, in my Bargain made with *Robert Branstou*, sold unto him Threescore young Trees or Spries of Oake, growing within severall Pasture of myn called Says, Parcel of my said Manor of *Wanstead*, being no Wood of Name; for the which, or for such like, I have not harde that any License hath been usually sued for, or procured, being in severall Grounds, and no Wood; yet for that I wolde be lothe to offend any Order thought good by your Lordship therein, I shall likewise humbly desire you, that the said Threescore young Trees or Spries of Oake may be contained in my saide License; and thus doing I shall be much bound (as nevertheless I am) at your Commandement, to be most present and redy in any thing that may lye in my little Power; and thus being much bolde to trouble your good Lordship, I take my Leve of the same. From my poor House at *Lees*, the 27th of *December*, 1564.

*Your good Lordship's always to command,*

RICHARD RYCH.

I would be glad to see your good Lordship in *Essex*, byfore your goyng into *Flanders*.

*From Lord Hunsdon to Mr. Thompson (Auditor).*

AFTER my ryght hartly Commendations: Whereas I requested you of late to joyne withe some other Friends of  
 F f 2 myne



myne to enter into Bonds for me, about such Money as I stood in need of, the Truth is, it standeth me so much upon, that I must needs procure the Sum of Five hundred Pounds: Wherefore I require you, as a special Friend whom I make account of, to joyne with me, and Mr. *Lyons*, for the Repayment of the same; and for your Security therein, you shall have such convenient Counterbond as you may devise; and besides, in your so doing, I shall not only be redy to enter into any like Bond for you, if you so require, but also most willing to pleasure you in any thing, to the most of my Power: So fare you well. From the Court, the 23d of *May*, 1560. Good Mr. *Thompson*, faine me not herein, my special Trust is in you.

*Your assured Friend,*

H. HUNSDON.

*N. B.* Lord *Hunsdon* was a Nobleman of remarkable Generosity, said to be nearly related to the Queen by her Mother *Anna Bullen*, and for whom the Queen professed the greatest Regard.

*From Sir William Fitzwilliams to Lord Suffex.*

*It may please your good Lordship,*

WHEREAS thys Bearer, *Richard Manwayringe*, Gentleman, is on Intent to Repayre to the Court, about certain his Sewtes, to be moved before the Lords of her Highnesse's Privie-Counsell, wherein he is commended by my Letters to their Lordships; and for that his Selfe can be the best Reporter of his own Causes to your Lordship, I omitt long Discourse, referring the same to his own Report; and neverthelesse he beyng your Lordship's olde Servant, I wolde not lett him pass, but with my Letters of Commendations, the rather to your Lordship, beseeching the same, although nedeless I might seem to stir your Lordship

ship to stand his good Lord and Master, for that he hathe not had of long tyme more need than now to make Proof of those that are his good Lord's; and which mought further him to aid, as his known Service hathe merited; and in his Favour I have also written other my Letters to the Lord of *Burley*; and so, with my very hartie Commendations to your good Lordship, and wishing your Lordship long Health, and Increase of Honour, I leve of further wrytinge for this tyme. From *St. Pulchers*, the 19th of *April*, 1571.

WILLIAM FITZ-WILLIAMS.

*From Lord Windfor to Lord Suffex.*

*Right Honourable, and my singular good Lord,*

AFTER my hartie Commendations unto your good Lordship, and my Layde Mistresse, trusting you are in Health, which I doe earnestly wish to be both to your Contentation and Pleasure, to advertise you of any great News here at the Court at thys tyme, other than I well know you have been wrytten unto, of which the best is of the Peace taken in *Scotland*; and as some saye, but as yet, with no Certainty, of the Prince of *Swedia* comyng in with a great Compemye of Noblemen, both of his Countre, and of *Germany*; other News I have none; and for that, I will not be tedious, I say no more, but commend myselfe to your Lordship to doe you or my Ladye Mistresse any Service or Pleasure I can in these Parts; and thus I take my Leave. From the Court at *Greenwyche*, the 11th of *July*, 1560.

*By your assured,*

EDWARDE WYNDESOR.

*To his verry good Lorde the Erle of Suffex, Lifenante  
of Ierlande to the Queene's Magestye, geve these.*

*A Letter*



*A Letter from Secretary Mafon to Lord Suffex.**Goode my Lorde,*

**A**N ill-favoured Pair of Eyes, which have caused me to keep my House these 10 or 12 Days, do drive me to open a Sute of myne to you by wryting, which otherwyse I wolde have done by Mouthe. I purchaséd, two or three Years sithence, a Manor in the Forest of *Windsor*, called *Sandehurst*, a small Piece of the Timber Wood whereof I have sithence sold; which, being ignorantly busy, I communicated to Mr. Secretary, upon Knowledge learned, that without Leave I might not lawfully make Sale of Wood within the Forest: Of late, I do understand, that a View hath bene taken of my Doings in that Matter; so as it is lyke some Presentment thereof is meant to be made to your Lordship; whereby being in Danger to incur some Penaltie, if I be not holpen by your good Lordship's Equite, I thought convenient to beseeche you to show therein such lawful Favor as you conveniently may; and to weigh, First, mine Ignorance; Secondly, the small Quantytye sold by me; and, finally, that whatsoever is done hath been done without any kynde of Hindrance to the Quene's Highness's Game, which will well appere upon the Examination of the Keepers. The Sale I made was of greate Timber, as I have before said, to the Number, as I take it, of an hundred Oakes. If any Fault be found in the usyng of the Copyce and Underwoods, the Farmer is to be charged herewith, who, by vertue of his Lese, clames the hole Interest thereof, and hath used to fell and sell the same at his Pleasure: And thus Almighty God have your goode Lordship in his moste blessed Keepynge. From my powre Howse in *Powle's Church-yard*, 17th of *March*, 1564.

*Your goode Lordshipe's hartelie at Command,*

JOHN MASON.

*To the Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,  
the Erle of Suffex, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and  
Justice of the Forests, &c.*

*The*

*The Lord Admiral to Lord Suffex.**It may please your good Lordship,*

I Have answered your Letter by this Berer: And, touching your Lordship's prosedyng in the late Voyage, it is very well accepted, and the Order you have taken, as by my Lord's Letters maye appere; and the rest of your Lordship's Demande is also answered, I trust, to your Contentation. Here are no other Newes than the daylie looking for the young Kyng of *Swethland* his comeing, who, as his Ambasadour reporteth, is upon the Sea, with Forty Ships, to come to see the Queen's Majestye. The Newis that *Garby* is taken by the *Turks*, and many *Spaniards* slayne in it, is agen confirmed by Letters lately come. Amongst others that were slayne, as is reported, the Don *John de Pyemontell*, who, I think your Lordship knew with King *Philip* here, is one. All things is here quiet, God be thankyd.

The Trobles of *Fraunce* are not yet repressed; but the Nobylers with the ordenary *Gens d'armes* are set out, by the Order of the Kyng, and his Counsel, to reform all Dysorders this Winter. The *Vidam de Chartin*, with other Gentilmen, are comytted to the *Bastyle* of *Parris*, for wryting of Letters to the Kyng of *Navarre*, which were interceptyd, and Matter found which moch discontentyd the House of *Guyse*. The *French* doth moch mylike the late Peace made in *Scotland*, between the Queen's Majestye and them, and in some Poynts stykyth to perform their Treaty. They lack but Abylity to shew their Malys, which I trust shal never lye in their Power. When Occasyon of forrein Newis shal come to me, I wyll not be slack in Wryting; and now I wyll trouble your Lordship no furer; but, with my most hartly Commendations to your Lordship, and my Ladye, I wish to you both long Lyfe, and much Honour. From *Hampton-Court*, the 7th of *October*, 1560.

*Your Lordship's assured to command,*

E. CLYNTON.

*To the Right Honorable, and my very good Lord, the Erle of Suffex, Lord Lieutenant of the Reame of Ireland.*



*The Earl of Pembroke to Lord Suffex.**My very good Lord,*

I AM right glad to hear of your Lordship's good Success in all your Wyshes, trusting in the Almighty, that you shall never have other. I am, Thanks be to God, very well amendyd; and am glad, with all my Hart, to hear of your good Lordship's prosperous Estate; and so, with hartly Thanks for your Lordship's gentile Letters, I pray you, that I and my Wife may be most hartily recommended both to you, and my Ladye your Bed-fellow; wherewith, for this tyme, I comit you to God. At *Hendon*, the 29th of *September*, 1560.

*Your good Lordship's right assured Friend,*

PEMBROKE.

*To the Right Honourable, and my very good Lord,  
the Erle of Suffex, and Lord Lieutenant of  
Ireland.*

*From Secretary Sir Thomas Smith to Sir Henry Radcliff, Captain of Portsmouth.*

AFTER my hartly Commendations: I do understand, that *Edward Higgins*, one of my Men, who, with *William Pulvert* and other, intending to go to my Son in *Ireland*, for their necessary Provision there, had bought a small Hoy laden with Salt, and given Earnest for it; thereof the Master and Owner cannot deny. The same is now stayed by you: I pray you examine the Matter; and if that it be so, that they have bought it indeed, let them have the Favour, that they maye enjoy it, and carry it to *Ireland*: It is a most necessary Provision for that Country; and therefore I pray you shew them, the Masters and Marryners,

Marryners as much convenient Favor as you can, both for my Sake, and because their Enterprise is honest, and for the Queen's Majesty's Service; and if I can shew you, or any of yours, any Favour or Pleasure, you shall command me. Thus I comyt you to Almighty God. From *Hampton Court*, the 24th of *January*, 1572.

*Your loving Friend,*

T. SMITH.

*To the Right Worshipful, and my very loving  
Friend Sir Henry Radcliff, Knight, Cap-  
tain of Portesmouth.*

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*A Letter from the Earl of Southampton, and under-  
written another (as supposed) from his Lady, to the  
Earl of Suffex, Lord Chamberlain.*

SINCE the wryting of my last Letter unto your Lordship, touching the Matter between the Lieutenant and me, I do understand, that my Lord *Lumley* hath a Mynd to stand with him also, according to the Orders: And furder, that if the Matter did end before the Council, the Orders were not like to be broken: Therefore, since I have delt this far in the Matter, and since he hath so badly delt with me, he deserveth far less, then more. I do beseech your Lordship, that I may be made privy unto any Order that shall be taken therein, before I be bownd to perform the same. It doth toch me grately in Honor; and therefore I most hartily desire you so to deale therein, as that my Enemy no-ways have his Wyll; for, as I regard not the whoie Sum of Money, so I assure your Lordship would it more grieve me to be forced to give him 200/. more than his Due, than otherwise to give a Friend twenty times the Valey of the Whole. Your Lordship shall command me in a far greater Matter then this. Surely, my Lord, if my Lord *Lumley* prevail, as I am



out of doubt he shall, and I should any-wise yield, it would be no small Dishonor to me: Therefore I hope your Lordship will consider of it accordingly: And so, beseeching your Lordship now to deal for my Liberty, that I may not only be forgotten, I do no further trouble your Lordship; wishing unto you as to my own self. From the 27th of June 1573.

*Your Lordship's assured Friend and Brother,*

SOUTHAMPTON.

Notwithstanding, my good Lord, I requested to be made privy to what Order your Lordship will take, before your Lordship give your Word I shall perform it; yet I mean not otherwise, in the End, to deal, then shall be to your liking; and so I beseech your Lordship assuredly to think.

*The under-written Letter.*

**A**lthough my Lord have promised, upon his Honor, not to declare to any his Knowledge touching the Lieutenant's Matter; yet, being desirous your Lordship should know every way upon what Ground he builds his Dealings, I wyll open unto your Lordship what Advyse hath come to hym since he did write unto your Lordship. A Cownsellor, and a noble Person, advysed him to stand in this Matter; assuring him, that whatsoever the Commissioners did, there was a Resolution that the Orders before should not be broken; and that it should appere, though my Lord did yield, by Lord *Lumly*, who is assured to paye no more then he ought to do. How greatly it wold roch him in Honor, I beseech your Lordship consider, and according to deal. Your Lordship shall find dowble Dealing in some of the Commissioners, who desire to have the Lieutenant have his Wyll, and my Lord dishonoured. This much I thought good to imparte unto your Lordship, hoping you will not see him overcome with his Enemies, in that even he may with Honor stand in. If my Helth wold have served me, I wold have seen your Lordship ere this

this tyme, and renew'd my Suite: But, my being not able at this present; neither do I know whether I shall be able, before her Majesty's Remove, to travel; do most hartily beseech your Lordship to have my Lord his Cause in Remembring, that I may not now be separated from him; as of Necessity I must, if he be ty'd to this Place till her Majesty's Return. Thus, reposing my only trust in your Lordship, do wysh unto you all Honor and Happyness.

*Your Lordship's assured loving Cosyne,*

M. SOUTHAMPTON.

*A Letter to the Earl of Suffex.*

**A**FTER my verey hartie Commendations to your good Lordship: The secunde Daye of this Instant the Gentlemen appointed for the Ordre of the Matters in Variance betweine the Lord *Wharton* and me, mett at *Kirkby-steaphen*, nere to the Matters in Question; where they contynewed by the Space of thre or foure Dayes: Whose Proceedings will, I truste, by their severall Certificates, manifeste unto your good Lordship in whom the Defaulte restithe; assuring your good Lordship, for myne own Parte, my Honor and Right saved, I was as earnestlye bent to embrace his Frendshipp, as your Lordship seemed desyrous of the same. But, syns now the Matter falleth owt in this manner, I verilye trust your good Lordship, nor any other of myne honorable Friends, will be offended that I take the Benefit of the Lawes for Tryall of my said Right: And so, for this tyme, do commytte your good Lordship to the Keeping of Almighty God. Scribled at my Castle of *Appullbye*, this 6th Day of *July* 1559. and under my Signett.

N. B. *The Signet is a Dragon in a princely Coronet, with a Motto round.*



*Lady Howard to the Earl of Suffex.*

**M**Y Dewtie don unto you, my very good Lorde, with my humble Thankes for your Goodnes shewed unto me, and to all your Cousins my Children, since God took my Lord your Uncle unto his Mercye. I do understande by my Son *William*, that he himself is verie muche bounde unto you. And he declares unto me, that all the reste be so towe nowe in my Absence. Your Lordshippe knowes how I did answer you once, that it was the best Deede that ever you did when you gote your Daughter *Frances*. Indeed, my Lord, she may think herself the moste happiest when it pleased you to call her so, and to take that Care that you do of hir; you shall be sure of a poor Widdowe's Prayer for your Goodness shewed unto us all. My good Lord, you shall understande, that my Lorde of *Lecester* promised me, when I was at *Grenewytche*, to speake unto the Quene's Majestie at her Return from the Progres; that I mighte be in the Courte to do my Dewtie, to wayte uppon hir Majestie, and have the Comfort of my Children, and to be in Place where I mighte mayke Meanes the sowner to bestowe some of them. I mayke your Lordship privy of it, as I meane, God willinge, to do with all things pteigninge to me, or to my Children. And I have no doubt, but your Lordship, of your Goodnes, will be contented with it. And thus I leave trubblinge your Lordship, desiringe of God to sende you and my Ladie Children, and to live so longe together as my Lorde and I did to have Joye of them. From *Otelandes*, the 22d of *Auguste*.

*By a poor Widdo, and your loving Aunte,*

MARGRETT HOWARD.

*To the Righte Honorable, and my very good  
Lorde, the Earle of Suffex, Lorde Chamber-  
layne unto the Quene's Majestie.*

*Lady*

*Lady Howard to the Earl of Suffex.*

MY Dutie remembred to you my good Lord: I do truble your Lordship mutche with my Causes; but the Hope of your good Will towards me makes me the bolder. At this tyme the Cause of my writinge unto you is, that *Shrovetide* being paste, you would be a Meanes unto the Quene's Majestie, that my Son *William* mighte remaine, with me mosse at Home with her Favour. I beseeche you, my good Lord, desire hir Majesty to consider howe manye Yeares I did live with my good Lord your Uncle, whome God hathe taken to his Mercie, and had the Comfort of hym Thirty-seven Yeres; and nowe to be in my House alone among my Servants, that never could be anye famelier Mistres amongeste my Foulkes. And againe, my Lorde, if any strange Gentillman come unto me, you know my sorrowful Estate is not nowe to kepe theme muche Companie; and many Causes more that I am not now so well able to reveal; besides the Comfort of havinge of my Son. I pray you, my good Lord, to be earneste with hir Majesty in this my Behalf, with your good wise Considerations, more then I am able to write. And thus I leve trublinge you, desiringe of God to sende you, and my good Ladie, your Wish. To whome I sende my homble Commendations, so well to do as myself. From my poor Lodge at *Rigate*, this present 17th of *February*, 1573.

*Your humble and loving Aunte,*

MARGRETT HOWARD.

*To the Right Honorable, and my verie good Lord,  
the Erle of Suffex, Lord Chamberlane to the  
Quene's Majestie.*

*From*



*From Owen Bray to the Earl of Suffex.*

**M**Y bounden Dewty unto your good Lordship confyderyd: It may please the same to understand, that beinge here for the conveying of your Lordship's Wood out of *Wyndsoure* Forrest, about the 16th Day of this last Month, *Kyrby* of *Smythsfeld* informed me, that Mr. *Houghton*, and one other, joined with him, had procured out a Commyssion for the Survey of all Wastes in all Forests, Parks, Warrens, and Chaces, within your Lordship's Rule. Whereupon I went to Sir *Richard Sackvyle*, requyering hym, in your Lordship's Name, to stay the sayd Commyssyon, declaring unto hym, that it wold be very chargeable unto the Quene's Majestie, and little Good to be don; shewing to him also, that your Lordship was mynded to have it afterwards done, at your next Return; and *Sackvyle* promysed me to speke with Mr. Treasurer for the Stayment thereof. I beseeche your Lordship to pardon me, if you think that I have not don well in the Stayment thereof. I wolde be very lothe to have any suche thing don, your Lordship not pryvy thereunto. There be many things done with the lyke Rule that I have under your Lordship, wherein no Redresse will be had in your Absence; for the Treasourer will not be spoken withall, without greate Attendance, and Mr. *Sackvyle* will doe nothing without hym. I pray God sende your Lordship shortly to retorne, or else I shall be weary of all. Thus comytting your Lordship to God, I wish you much Increase of Honour. Wrytten in Haste, in *London*, the 6th Day of *August*, 1560.

*Your Lordship's to command,*

OWEN BRAY.

*To the Right Honorable, and my very good  
Lorde, the Erle of Suffex, Lorde Deputy  
of Ireland, deliver this.*

*An*

*An original Order of Philip and Mary, under the Signet, to install Lord Grey of Welton, then Prisoner in France, Knight of the Garter, in the Person of Sir Humphry Radcliff, Knight.*

MARYE the Quene.

**P**HILLIP and Mary, by the Grace of God, Kinge and Quene of England, Spayne, France, both Cyciles, Berlin, and Ireland, Defender of the Faythe, Archduke of Austrich, Dukes of Burgundye, Myllan, and Brabant, Counts of Hafs-nage, Flaunders, and Tyroll, and Soveraigns of the moast noble Order of the Garter: To oure right trusty and right well-beloved Cousen the Erle of *Huntyngton*, and our right trusty and welbeloved Counsellor the Lord *Hastings* of *Loughborow*, our Lord Chamberlen, Companions and Knights of oure said noble Order of the Garter, greeting: Whereas we, with other Companions of the said noble Order, assembled at a Chapter holden at our Pallace of *Westminster*, the 27th of *April* last past, did electe and choose oure right trusty and welbeloved the Lord *Grey* of *Wylton*, to be Knight and Companion of oure said noble Order. Forasmuch as the same Lorde *Grey* is presentlie Prysoner with the *French* Kinge, and therefore cannot be installed in his owne Person, oure Pleasure is, that he shall be installed by Sir *Humfrey Radclyff*, Knight, whom we have ap-poynted to be his Depute in that Behalf; willyng therefore, and by these Presents authorysing and lycensyng yew, not only to accepte and admyt the said Lorde *Grey*, of *Wylton*, unto the said Order, and to receave his Oath and Installation by his said De-putie accordinglye, but also further to do therein, as to the Statutes, and laudable Customes, of oure said noble Order ap-perteigneth: And these oure Letters shall be youre suffycient Warrant and Dyscharge in that Behaulf. Given under the Seale of oure said Order, at oure Manor of *Greenwich*, the 20th of *Aprill*, the Fourth and Fifth Yeres of oure Reignes.

To



*To the Lord Chamberlain.*

*My very good Lord,*

**M**Y most humble Duty remembred: I am to crave Pardon of your Lordship, that I did not write unto your Lordship, since my Departure from the Court. And thus bothe givinge your Lordship Thanks for your Goodnes towards me, and desiringe yow to continue the same, I wishe yow longe Life, Healthe, and Encrease of your Lordship's Honour. From *Cambridge*, the 27th of *May*, 1577.

*Your Lordship's most bounden,*

R. ESSEX.

*To the Right Honorable, and my very good  
Lord, the Lord Chamberlaine.*

I am to pray your Lordship Furtherance to *Baroll*, my Father's antient Servant, in a Cause he shall informe your Lordship.

*A Letter to the Lords of the Privy Councell, of Proceedings in the Commission of Oyer and Terminer at Carlisle against the late Rioters in the North.*

*It may please your good Lordships,*

**A**ccording to the Effect of my Letters of the      Day of  
*August*, my Lord *Scrope*, Sir *Thomas Garrgrate*, Sir *George Bowes*, the Dean of *Duresme*, Mr. *B. llengham*, and Mr. *Symms*, repaired the 21st of the same to *Carlisle*, to meet there with the Justices of Assize, and to join with them to procede, by virtue of the Commission for Oyer and Determiner remaining here, against such as for their Offences in the Tumult at the Forrest of *Westwarde*, should be found to be within the Compass of Felony; and by virtue of the Commyssion remaining here for  
6      hearing

hearing of Causes, to proceed against such as should be found faulty of the Ryot. In both which Commyssions the Justices of Assyze, and all the Persons abovewritten, be named Commyssioners. And upon their Meeting they have proceeded in such Force, as by Articles thereof delivered to me, and herewith sent to your Lordship, may at good length appear.

Four Persons, being indicted and arrayned, have confessed the Felony, and submitted themselves to the Queen's Majesty's Mercy, against whome Judgement was deferred for dyvers respects in the Articles declared.

Thertie-six others remayne indycted of Fellonye, against whome there was no further Proceeding for the Causes also there alleged.

Many have bene long deteyned in Prision; 200 and upwards. Near to 300 have confessed the Ryot, submitted themselves, and stand bounden to pay suche Fynes, and to abide suche Punishment, as I and the Councell shall cefs and appointe; wherein we meane to proceede so soon as a convenyent tyme may be for the assembling of suche a Number, as, in such a Cause, is requisitye. The Cause hathe bene hereby followed, the Pepell be repentant, and verye fearefull; and the Example hathe bene made verye greate; in respect wherof, and of the Matter conteyned in the Articles, I have promised the Commissioners to be Suter to your Lordship, to be Meanes to the Queen's Majesty, to extend her Mercy in that toucheth the Lyfe of many, by granting her gracieuse Pardon to the 4 found guilty, and the 36 indicted; which I humbly beseech your good Lordship to consider, that her Majesty's Ministers here maye the boldlyer straine Matters to the uttermoste in Justice for continuing of Obedience, when upon the Moryon it shall please her Majesty to use her Mercy to the humble few. And the People, being straightly dealt with for their Offences, shall not after be wholly out of Hope of Grace, in such Causes as becometh us to be Suitors for them. In Hope

H h

hereof



hereof I have caused a Pardon to be drawn up; which I herewith send, and humbly beseech your Lordship to prefer to her Majesty; and so comytt your Lordships to the Almighty. From *Churwood*, the 22d of *September*, 1569.

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*Lady Stanley to the Earl of Suffex.*

*Right Honourable,*

THIS is to lett you know, that a littell before the Death of Sir *George* my Husband, he requested me, uppon his Death-bed, to write to your Honour in the Behalf of this Bearer, his Nevewe, and late Servant, that you woulde for his Sake stande his good Lorde, and entertayne hym as youre Man. Wherefore I thought it good to discharge my said Promise, made unto him, my said Husband, before his Death. And do heartely desire your Honour, that if it shall seeme likinge unto you, to entertayne him, the rather for his said late Uncle's Sake. I have ben somewhat bould to trouble your Honour with this my symple Letter; and therefore, to shun Tediousness, I cease, wishinge your Lordship's Healthe, with Encrease of Honour. From *Croshall*, this 15th of *Aprill*, 1571.

*Tours,*

ISABELL STANLEY.

*To the Right Honorable the Earle of Suffex,  
Knight of the most Honourable Order of  
the Garter, this be delivered.*

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*Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary, to Lord Suffex.  
From Fraunce, 1571. In his own Hand.*

YOUR Lordship's approving my simple Service by your Letters, bearing Date the 14th of *Aprill*, dothe give me Encouragement

ment to hope, that if hereafter there grow any Defect (as likely there may be many), the same proceeding neither out of Malice nor Negligence, shall not lack your Lordship's favourable Defence.

Here we awaite your Answer how you hope to proceed. *Spain*, and the House of *Guyse*, the Hinderers of the Match in Hand, are not in the best Concept here with the King at this present; whereby there is great Hope gathered of the Continuance of the Peace. And so, having nothing else at this present to impart unto your Lordship, I most humbly take my Leave. At *Parris*, the 20th of *Aprill*, A<sup>o</sup> 1571.

*Your Lordship's to command,*

FRA. WALSYNGHAM.

*To the Right Honorable, and my very  
good Lord, the Earl of Suffex, at  
the Court.*

*An original Letter from the Lord Shrewesbury to Lord  
Burleigh, dated at Sheffield, the 5th of November,  
1574. Cotton Library, Caligula, c. 3. fol.*

*My very good Lord, and dere Friende,*

**I**T seemeth by your Lettars to me, there be that sekes sume Doutefulness in the Quene's Majestie of the Lorde and *Suffolke*, near these Partes, and therewith to *rethe* me and my Wyfe; for that my Wife sought the *Maryage* of hur Daughter as oft, and many tymes, and in sundrye Places, she before hath don, and that some Repugnant is found betwixt my Lady Wrytings and myne, of hur being desyred to *Raufford* or not. These, and the manner of Delyngs in these Mattars, your Lordship wrytes, her Majestie maye perhappes counsell othervyes then afore she hath don. Surely, my Lord, I



take these Lordes to be hur Majestie's faithful Subjects, well thought of of her Majesty; and during their Abodes at my House, I could geddar no Cause of myslyking of them: They were, for her Majestie's Sake, the welcomar to me, as others hathe bene and shuld be to me, whom I know hur Majestie favors; and when I wrytt unto your Lordship of both these Lords cummyng to my House, I resealed the Knolege from my Wyfe, that the Lade *Suffolke* towld hur, that the Lade                      ment to come to hur House in the North, and that she would bringe hur to *Chatsworth*, if she could intrete her; but if she could not, hurself would. Both I and my Wyfe, when we consydered, thought better to have them at *Rofford* than *Chatsworth*, and made that House redy. When we hard that the Lade of                      was cummyng to *Grounsthorne*, I made a full Accounte of both their commings, and tooke Occasion of smaule Mattar to wryte unto your Lordship. My Wyfe hereing of there being at *Grantam*, cente the next Daye *Henry Camen* to *Rutrick*, to desyre them both to cum to *Rofford*, and there found but the oune; so my Wyfe                      The Lorde                      was loth to cum, but by grete Desyre of the Messengar from my Wife. And as for the Mosyon of Marriage betwext the Dutches Sunne, and my Wyfes Daughtare, it was not                      nor hedde from the Worlde; it hath bene in Talke betwixt them more than a Yere past, and not thought off as a Mattare worthe hur Majestie's hering. To be plaine with your Lordship, I whyshed the Matche, and put to my helping Hand to further it; and was contented, by my Lade *Suffolk's* grete Intrete, to suffar my Wyfe for that Purpose to accompeny hur to his House *Grounsthorne*; and, at hur Retorne, she thought it in good Forwardness, and so hopyd, tyll she saw the nott to, and then understanding the younge Gentleman was otharwyes disposed without                      her Mynde, and this is all the delyng I know of that Lorde

Lade *L*                      being                      and, as I hard, sekely, rested hur at *Rofford* five Days, and kept most hur Bedde-chambar; and

in that tyme the young Man hur Sunn fell into lyking with my Wife's Daughter before intended and such Lyking was between them, as, my Wife tells me, she makes no Doubt of a Match; and hath so tyed themselves upon their own lyking, as cannot parte. My Wyfe hath sent hur to my Lady and the young Man is so farr in Love, that belyke he is syke without hur. This taking Effect, I shall be well at Quyet; for there is few Nobillmens Sonns in *England*, that she hath not paid me to dele forre, at one tyme or other; so did I for my Lord *Rutland*, with my Lord *Suffex*, for my Lord *Wharton*, and sondry others: And now this cumies unlooked for without Thanks to me. Thus have I at large particularly made Account of these Lades, and their Dealings at my Houses: I have for your Lordship full Knowlege; and that you maye mete with whatsoever, shall be more or otherwyse imagined, and preferred to hur Majestie agentie me, or my Wife. I have bene more tedyus, and in expressing the manner of every

that I know of consarnyng those Lades, and their Dealings, than needful to trouble your Lordship with; assuring my selfe you will as frendly satisfie hur Majestie in all these thyngs, as I have playnly wrytt them, and as your Lordship doth professe to me; and as my speciall Trust is in your Lordship. I and my Wyfe wyshe your Lordship as hartly well as to ourselves. At *Cheffeld*, the 5th of *November*, 1574.

*Your Lordship's assured Friend and Kynsman,*

SHREWSBURY.

I have here inclosed, returned my Lade your Lordship.

Letter to

*From the Marquis of Winchester.*

I Have sent you herewith a new Book, made of the Lande for *London*, much varyinge from the Books that Mr. *Walgrave* had



had of me, by reason that Mr. *Garret*, and Mr. Recorder, when the Auditors were with us, he refused many of the Manors that were of the Quene's annient Lands, and took other that came in by Exchainge and Purchas, for their more Surety; which Book, and this Bill, deliver to Mr. *Walgrave*, that he may shew the same to the Quene, how her Majestie shall like the same; and yf her Grace lyke yt, that then there may be written, in the latter End of the Paper, that her Grace is pleased those Lands shall passe; and to will me to make fourthe Warrants to the Auditors for the particular Books thereof, as thereupon there may be a Book engrossed ready to her Grace's Hand, and that Paper returned to me agayn under her Grace's Hand; when I will see yt don. Written this 29th of *Marche*, 1558.

*Your Master's,*

WINCHESTER.

*To my Servant Robert Hayre, Gentilman.*

*Lord Northumberland to the Earl of Suffex.*

*My verye good Lord,*

WE hear this Bearer, *Thomas Swyns*, Sone to one *William Swyns*, that was slaine in her Majestie's Service, who I think your Lordship dothe well remember, hath a Suit unto hir Majestie, in whose Behalf I am earnestly required by him to wryte my Letters unto your good Lordship. The good Lyking I have of the Towardnes of the young Man, with the good Will I bore his Father, being desyrous to do for him in that I may, hath moved me to pray your Lordship to stand his good Lord in the Advancement of his Suit at this tyme to the Quene's Majestie. I hope, both for the good Will I hear your Lordship bore to his Father, and for my Cause, as Tyme will convenyently come, your Lordship will have the young Man in Remembrance. And so, being  
herein,

herein bold to trouble your Lordship, I commyt the same to the Government of the Almighty. From my House at *Petworth*, the 21st of *March*, 1576.

*Your Lordship's most assured Cossene,*

NORTHUMBERLAND.

I pray your Lordship to make my Wyffe's moſte harty Commendacions, and myne, to my Lady my Myſtris.

*To the Right Honorable, and my very good  
Lord and Coſin, the Erle of Suffex, Lorde  
Chamberlaine.*

*The following Commission of Queen Elizabeth's, and Letters of James I. I was earnestly importuned by ſeveral Subscribers, to print in this Collection.*

*The Commission for the Execution to be donne upon the Quene of Scottes Perſon, directed to the Erles of Shrewsbury and Kent, &c. Penned by Lord Burghley.*

**E**LIZABETH, by the Grace of God, Quene of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, &c. To our truſty and welbeloved Couſins, George Erle of *Shrewsbury*, the Erle Marshall of *England*, Henry Erle of *Kent*, Henry Erle of *Derby*, George Erle of *Comberland*, Henry Erle of *Pembrook*, greeting: Whereas frome the Sentence given by yow, and others of our Counſaill, Nobilitie, and Judges, againſte the Quene of *Scotts*, by the Name of *Mary*, the Daughter and Heire of *James* the Fiſte, late King of *Scotts*, commonly called the Quene of *Scottes*, and Dowager of *Fraunce*, as to you is well known, all the States in the late Parliament aſſembled did not only deliberate, with great Advise allow and approve the ſaid Sentence as juſt and honorable, but did alſo, with all Humblenes and Earneſtneſſ poſſible, at ſundry tymes, require,



require, sollicite, and presse us to proceede to the publishing of the same ; and thereupon to direct such further Execution against her Person, as they did adjudge her to have duely deserved ; adding thereto, that the forbearing thereof was and would be daily a certayne and unndoubted Danger, not only to our own Life, but to themselves, their Posterity, and the publique Estate of this Realm, as well for the Cause of the Gospel, and the true Religion of Christ, as for the Peace of the whole Realm : Whereupon we did (though with some Delay of Tyme) publishe the same Sentence by our Proclamation ; and yet have hitherto forborne to gyve Direction for the further Satisfaction of the aforesaid most earnest Requests, made by the said States of our Parliament ; whereby we do daily understand, by all Sorts of our loving Subjects, both of our Nobility and Counsaill, and also of the wisest, greatest, and best devoted of all other our Subjects of inferior Degrees, how greatly and deeply from the Bottom of their Hearts they are grieved and afflicted with dayly, yea with hourly Fear of our Life, and thereby consequently with a dreadful Doubt and Expectation of the Ruine of the present godly and happy State of this Realme, if we shall forbear the fynal Execution, as it is desired, and neglect their general and continual Requests, Prayers, Counsaills, and Advises ; and thereupon, contrary to our naturall Disposition in such a Case, being overcome with the even Weight of their Counsaill, and the daily Continuance of their Intercessions, importing such a Necessity as appeareth directly tending to the Safety not only of ourself, but also to the Weal of our whole Realm ; we have condescended to suffer Justice to take place : And for the Execution thereof, upon the special Trust, Experience, and Confidence, which we have in your Loialties, Faithfulness, and Love, towards our Person, and Safety thereof ; and also to our natyve Country, whereof you are most noble and principal Members ; we doe will, and by Warrant hereof, do direct and authorize yow, so soone as yow shall have tyme convenient, to repaire to our Castell of *Fodrington*, where the  
said

said Queen of *Scots* is in the Custody of our right trusty Servant and Counsellor, Sir *Amias Paulet*, Knight, and there taking her into your Charge, do cause by your Commandement Execution to be done upon her Person in the Presence of yourselves, and the said Sir *Amias Paulet*, and of such other Officers of Justice as you shall command to be there to attend for that Purpose; and the same to be done in such Manner and Form, and at such Tyme and Place, there, and by such Persons, as to you Fyve, Fower, Three, or Two of yow, shall be thought by your Discretions to be convenient; notwithstanding any Law, Statute, or Ordinance, to the contrary. And these our Letters Patents, sealed with our great Scale of *England*, shall be to yow, and every of yow, and to all Persons that shall be present, or shall by your Commandement do any thing perteyning to the said Execution, a full sufficient Warrant and Discharge for ever. And further we are also pleased and contented, and by these Presents do will and authorize our Chancellor of *England*, at the Request of yow, and every of yow, the Duplicate of these our Letters Patents to be to all Purposes duly made. Dated and sealed with oure great Scale of *England*, as these Presents are. In Witness whereof we have caused these our Letters to be made Patents. Given at our Mannor of *Grenwich*, the First Day of *February*, in the 29th Yeare of our Reigne, &c.

*Two Letters of James King of Scotland to Queen Elizabeth.*

*Madame, and dearest Sister,*

**I**F ye could know what divers Thoughts have agitated my Mind, since my directing of *William Keith* unto you for the soliciting of this Matter, wherto Nature and Honor so greatlie and unfainedly bindes and obliges me; if, I say, you knew what divers Thoughts I have bin in, and what just Grief I had, weighing deeplie the thing itself (if so it should proceed as God forbid),



what Events might follow thereupon, what Number of Straites I should be driven into, and, amongst the rest, how it might perill my Reputation amongst my Subjects; if these things, I yet say againe, were knowne unto you, then doubt I not, but you would so farr pittie my Case, as it would easilie make you at first to resolve your owne best into it. I doubt greatlie in what Fashion to write in this Purpose; for ye have allreadie taken so Evil with my Playnesse, as I feare, if I shall persist in that Course, ye shall rather be exasperated to Passions in reading the Wordes, then by the Playnesse thereof be perswaded to consider rightly the simple Truth. Yet justlie preferringe the Dutie of an honest Friend, to the Passions of one who (how soone they be past) can wiselier wey the Reasons, then I can sett them down, I am resolved in few Words, and plaine, to give you my friendly and best Advice, appealingge to your ripest Judgement to discern thereupon. What thinge, Madam, can greatlier touch me in Honor, that both am a Kinge, and a Sonne, then that my nearest Neighbour, beinge in straitest Friendship with me, shall rigorously put to Death a free soveraigne Prince, and my natural Mother, alike in Estate and Sexe to her that so uses her, albeit, subject, I grant, to a harder Fortune, and touchinge her nearlie in Proximitie of Blood? What Lawe of God can permitt, that Justice shall strike upon them, whome he hath appointed supreme Dispensators of the same under him, whome he hath called Gods, and therefore subjected to the Censure of none in Earth; whose Anoyntinge by God cannot be defiled by Man, unrevengeed by the Author thereof; who, beinge supreme, and immediate Leiftenantes of God in Heaven, cannot therefore be judged by their Equalls in Earth? What a monstrous thinge is it, that Sovereigne Princes themselves should be Example-givers of their owne sacred Diadem's prophaninge! Then what should move you to this Forme of Proceedinge? (Supposinge the worst, which in good Faith I looke not for at your Hands) Honor, or Profit? Honor were it to you to spare, when it is least looked for: Honor were

it to you (which is not only my friendlie Advice, but earnest Sute) to take me, and all other Princes in *Europe*, eternally beholdinge to you in grantinge this my soe reasonable Request, and not (Pardon, I praie you, my free Speakinge) to put Princes in Straites of Honor, whereby your general Reputation, and the universal (almost) Mislikinge of you, maye dangerouslye perill, both in Honor and Utilitie, your Person and Estate. You knowe, Madam, well enough, how small Difference *Cicero* concludes to be betwixt *Utile & Honestum*, in his Discourse thereof, and which of them ought to be framed to the other. And nowe, Madam, to conclude; I pray you so to waigh these few Arguments, that as I ever presumed of your Nature, so the whole World may praise your Subjects for their dutifull Care for your Preservation, and yourself for your princely Pittie; the doinge whereof onlie belongs unto you, the performing whereof onlie appertains unto you, and the Praise thereof will ever be yours. Respect then, good Sister, this my firste so longe continued and so earnest Request, dispatching my Embassadors with such a comfortable Answer as maye become your Person to give, and as my lovinge and honest Heart unto you meritts to receave. But in case anie do vaunt themselves to knowe further of my Minde in this Matter then my Embassadors do, who indeed are fully acquainted therewith, I pray you not to take me to be a Cameleon, but, on the contrary, them to be malicious Impostors, as surelie they are. Thus prayinge you hartilie to excuse my rude and long Letter, I commit you, Madam, and deereft Sister, to the blessed Protection of the Most High, who might give you Grace so to resolve in this Matter as may be most honorable for you, and most acceptable to him. From my Pallace of *Holyroodhouse*, the 26th of *Januarie*, 1586.

Your most lovinge and affectionate Brother and Cousin,

JAMES R.

*A Madame, ma tres chere Sieure et Cousine,  
la Reyne d'Angleterre.*



Caligula, c. 9. fol. 432. *A Copy of the Original.*

**R**eserve up yourselfe no longer in the earnest Dealinge for my Mother; for you have done it too longe; and thinke not that aniey our Travells can do good, if hir Life be taken; for then adieu with my Dealinge with them that are the speciall Instruments thereof: And therefore, if you look for the Continuance of my Favor towards you, spare no Pains, nor Plainness, in this case; but read my Letter, written to *William Keith*, and conforme yourself whollie to the Contents thereof. And in this Request let me reape the Fruits of your great Credit there, either nowe or never. Farewell. *October, 1586.*

JAMES R.

*To Mr. Archibald Douglas.*

*The Two Copys taken from the Original, both K. James the First's own Hand.*

**I** Pray you my Lord be careful, by all the means possible, to try, as clearly as ye can, *Franklin's* receiving Money from *Somerfette*, how oft *Wesson* repaired to *Somerfette*, and of *Frankling's* Voyage to my Sone-in-lawe; forget not also to use all the Means possible to make *Mistress Turnour* and *Francklins* confesse; for my only Care is to clear the Verity, not only legally, but historically, as I told Yesterday, that all the World that will open their Eyes maye see cleerlie in it. Remember also to trye what further ye can anent the Picture of Waxe; and so God bleffe youre Laboure.

JAMES R.

*N. B. Without Date. Directed to none.*

*My Lords,*

**I**F ye can dispatche yone *Bissienesse*, that I wrotte of to you Yesterdaye, before my Returne, it will be so muche the bettir. If the Pairties Meanes be sufficient, whome I named unto you Yesternighte,

Yesternighte, I can litle doubt of any other thing; and yet have I no Reason to doubt of it, but my mere Ignorance of private Mens Fortunes. If the one of you the Daye be condemned and fyned in the Starre Chalmer for youre kneeling, I hoape I shall heare of it, and so fair well.

Mi Lorde, I have at Lengthe redd and consider it, both youre Lettir, and the Inducements, and Proofes against *Munson*, that ye sent therewith: And First, as for *Munson's* Cace, it is trew, that all the Circumstances worke stronglie against him; and, in all Lykelihoode, he is verrie fowle: But, as in a murdered Man, the bloodie Sworde of his Ennemie may be found stikking in him; and yet done by a third Person, who might, upon Practise, have borrowed or stollin it; so might he have bene used as an Instrument in this Villanie, *nesciens quid fecit*. I confesse, indeede, this is so unlykelie, as it is altogether improbable, excepte these who employed him hadde altogether made a Foole of him; but this I onlie speake because I fynde no Evidence against him, but of Probabilities; no Man affirming, that either *Munson* spoke or wrotte to any Man, or any Man to him, of the Poisoning of *Overberrie*; and ye knowe the Matter of Lyfe or Death wold be *luce clarius*, if it be possible: And therefore, since the Proceedings hitherto in this Action have bene so iuste and gloriouse, as everie Partie that was convicted hath dyed both *confitens* and *pœnitens reus*, I wold be loathe this blessed Successe shoulde first be interrupted in his Person, though, on my Conscience, if he be guiltie, he is one of the fowlest Actors in it of thaim all: I must therefore in this, as in all the rest of this Busynesse I have hitherto done, referre the handling of it to youre Conscience and Discretion, the rather, considering the happie Successe ye have, whither ye fynde ye have sufficient Grounde to proceede with him presentlie; or if ye will delaye him till ye see what Good will worke with the Countesse, who most can charge him of any Fleshe. As for that he talkes of the Thesawrarie, ye will do well to aske the Thesawraire privatlie; albeit, in my Opinion,  
that



that will prove but a seklesse Eale : As for his bawdrie Pairte, that is not *vestri fori*. Now for *Frankline* : I wolde gladlie knowe by your next Advertisement, whither this new Discoverie of his, concerns onlie this Villanie, or if it touche me in some hyer Nature ; only this Worde I desyre to know : I lykways thinke it very fitte, that ye acquainte the Chancellaire throghe with it ; and I also verrie well allow of youre suspending of his Execution till ye gette all ye can out of him, if that be the great Work ye meane ; but if ye meane, till this whole Proceſs of poysoning be concluded, there may be as greate Skandall in his Keeping so long, as Advantage, unless if it be rightlie done, for a reasonable tyme. I praye you have a Care that good Heede be taken to the Countesse after her Birth ; for I heare it divers Wayes confirmed, that she means to undoe herself. This have I bene forced to wrytte with my own Hande, because ye recommended the Secreacie of it unto me ; and so God blesse your Labours, and grawnt thaim a glorious and happie Conclusion.

JAMES R.

Without Date and Direction. From the Original signed by the King.

*Copie of a Letter from the Queen's Majestie to the Scottish King, disavowing her Privity to the Death of his Mother. Caligula, d. 1. fol. 161. c. 9.*

*My dear Brother,*

I Woulde you knewe (though not felt) the extreeme Dolor that overwhelmes my Minde for that miserable Accident, which (farre contrary to my Meaning) hath befallen. I have now sent Sir *Robert Carew*, this Kinsman of mine, whome, ere now, yt hath pleased you to favour, to instruct you truly of that which is too irksome for my Penne to tell you. I beseeche you, that as God, and many moe, knowe how innocent I am in this case ;

so you will beleieve mee, that if I had bid ought, I would have bid by it. I am not so base-minded, that Feare of any living Creature, or Prince, should make mee afrayde to doe that were just; or, donne, to deny the same: I am not of so base a Lineage, nor carry so vile a Minde. But as not to disguise, fits most a Kinge, so will I never dissemble my Actions, but cause them to shewe even as I ment them. Thus assuring yourself of me, that as I knowe this was desired; yet, if I ment it, I would never lay it upon others Shoulders; no more will I not damnifie myself, that thought it not. The Circumstance yt may please you to learn from this Bearer. And, for my part, thinke you have not in the Worlde a more lovinge Kinswoman, nor a more deere Frende, then myself, nor any that will watch more carefully to preserve you, and your Estate. And who shall otherwise perswade you, judge them more partiall to others then you. And thus, in Haste, I leave to trouble you, beseeching God to send you a long Reigne. The 17th of *February*, 1586.

*Your most assured loving Sister and Cosin,*

ELIZABETH R.

*Lord Howard to the Earl of Suffex.*

AFTER my very humble Commendations don unto your good Lordshippe, with like Thanks for your Courtesie alwaies shewed me: So yt is, that in makinge Assurance of that small Portion of Lyvinge which I have provided for my poor Children, for their Preferment after my Decease, I have presumed upon your Lordship, as my verie good Lord, to trouble you in the Conveyance thereof, to be one of the Feoffees of Truste, to whom I have geven and granted the same, to such Uses, as be expresse therein; hopinge the same shall the rather thereby take suche good Effecte, to their Commoditie (when I am deade) as my plaine Meaninge is declared therein. The one Parte whereof,  
being



being signed and sealed with myne owne Hande and Seale, and delivered as myne owne Act and Deade, to the said Uses accordingly, I have sente unto your good Lordship herewith; prayinge you to stande so muche my good Lord, as to set your Hande and Seale to the other Parte, which this Berer my Servante hath redye to exhibit unto you. And thus leavinge any farder at this tyme to trouble your Lordship, I humbly take my Leave, wishinge you prosperous Healthe and Felicitie, with much Increase of Honor: From *Abindon*, the 17th of *January*, 1573.

*Your Lordship's assured Freende, and poor Kinsman,*

THOMAS HOWARD.

*Postscript.* Desyringe your good Lordship to gyve fourther Credyt unto the Bearer hereof my Servant, who hathe from me to enlarge unto your Lordship, bothe in Wrytinge and Mouthe, of a Matter in Controversy betwene me, and one *George Hyte*, my last Wive's Brother, accordinge to the Truthe, and full Effects of the same; wherein I am touched both in Honour and Credyt.

*To the Right Honorable, and my very good  
Lord, the Earl of Suffex, Lord Chamber-  
lain, geve this.*

*A Letter from William Crew to John Carre.*

*John Carre,*

AFTER my hartie Commendations: Whereas one Mr. *Thompson*, Auditor, presently repayreth into the North, in Com-missyon with Sir *John Harrington*: Forasmuch as he is a Strainger in those Parts, thinking, by the Procurement of my Letters to such as be my Friends, he maie have the Supplie of suche things as he shall want; and also Ayd and Counsell in all such Matters as he shall doubt of; I require you, even as ye take me to be your  
Frend,

Friend, and do expect anie good Torne at my Hands, as well to be frendlie and favorable unto him in all Cases; as also to helpe to furnyshe him with Horse for himself, or other thing needful, to *Haddington*, or anie other Place, in as frendly Sort as ye wolde do to myself: Whiche I shall take no less thankfully. Not doubting but ye will so do, I bid you hartelie farewell. From *London*, the 17th of *March*, 1548.

*Your loving Frende,*

WILLIAM CREW.

I pray you use him so in all Cases, as bothe he maie perceave I have wryten unto you in his Behalf; as also that he receiveth Frendshippe at your Hands, the rather for my Sake.

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*Commission for Peace, and particular Directions concerning the Treaty Tripartite between England, Spain, and Burgundy.*

WE doubt not, but when you shall thoroughlie perceive in how important an Affaire we do employe yow, that yow will take great Comfort in so gracious a Testimonie of the Trust which we repose in yow, and will throughlie consider, how fytt it is for yow to be well advised in all your Proceedings. For nothing can shewe a greater Confydence on our Part, then to commend to your Discretion and Dexteritie the Negotiation of Warre and Peace; seeing the Change of that Condition betweene so great Monarchies, either one way or other, doth carrie with it so absolute an Alteration, or rather Subversion of all precedent Councells, and Actions. And as in all such Conclusions of Leagues betweene Princes, and their Estates, small Oversights in Matters of any Substance, do often bring forth great Prejudice; so even in Poynts of Honor we would be very sorrie yow



should be any way over-reached. And therefore, before yow enter into the Treatie, be well assured of the Validitie of their Commyssion, and of the Dewes acknowleged to us for our Tytles and Dignities.

Yow shall now understand, that the Substance of your Employment is to joyne in Conference with the Commissioners of *Spaine*, and the Archdukes, concerning a Treatie to be made Tripartite between us, and *Spayne*, and *Burgundy*; wherein although former Precedents may much lead, and helpe yow; yet, as things stand now betweene us, there will be found many extraordinary Difficulties in this Contract, because we must, above all things, be resolute to yeild to nothing which may overthrowe the State of the *Low-Countries*; though these, with whom we shall be now confirmed in Peace, do declare those United Provinces to be their greatest Enemyes. We have notwithstanding resolved to give you an ample Commission to treat of all things which yow shall hold reasonable for our State; and thereupon to conclude such a Treatie of Amytie and Entercourse betweene the three Estates as shall seem good to yow. Wherein although we have delivered to yow a large and general Power; yet, for your better Dyrections, we have conceived certaine Instructions, by which yow shall be guyded; and whensoever there is any Doubtfulnesse, or Question arising, by any Change of Circumstances, wherewith yow thinke ytt fytt to acquaint us, yow shall advertise us thereof, and receive our Pleasure thereupon. To speake therefore in general of Treaties, as it is manifest, that all Treaties are eyther to conclude Leagues of Amitie, or Accords of Entercourse, or both; so there are three Kinds of Proceedings therein:

One, An original Entrie into a newe League where none is.

Another, By establishing of Leagues which are imperfect.

A third, A symple renewyng of Treaties in Force without Alteration of Conditions.

The First, which is a Treatie of Amitie, contayneth a Promise

of future Peace, mutuall Kyndnes, and friendly Entertainment of Subjects in general.

In the second Part of Entercourse, are directed in particular what is to be observed in Trade and Traffique with the Subjects of other Princes.

For the Treaties of Amitie (simplie) they carrie with them onelie an *Amnestia* of all former Alienations, and promise not to annoye each other in warlick manner more or lesse; but to perform all Offices of mutual Kindness, in greater or lesse Degrees, as the Circumstances of Estates may beare, including thereby all princelie Respects, in yielding each other Titles of Honour; in punishing of any Indignities in each other's Countreys; in provyding for Correspondencie by Embassadors, and such-like Generalities. And sometymes, when the Hearts of Princes are freindly disposed, and throughly unyted, either by long and mutual Offices of Freindshipp, or by Contracts of Marriages, or other Allyances, or by joyning against some common Enemye; then they have often proceeded to some straighter Degrees of Covenants for mutuall Aide and Support in tyme of Necessities; and so particular Conditions for a League, offensyve and defensyve, are consydered, and provyded for; to which Degrees we are not yet growne.

For the Matter of Entercourse, it still descendeth to Particulars of Traffique and Commerce; wherein is especiallie considerable, Securitie for Marchants to pass to and fro, to stay, and inhabite:

Moderation of Impositions, whereby their Gaines may be worthie their Adventure:

Provision for Satisfaction to be made to Straingers that are wronged, and clear Justice to be admynistred when the Subjects of either Prince shall happen to offend in other's Dominions; with many others, which are Branches of that mayne Piller of Treatie, and Entercourse, whereof we wyll speake more particularlie hereafter.



Having therefore now examyned the State of this Question; to what Persons, and things this Treatie hath Relation; we do find, that from this Treatie must proceede a League of Amity, and Entercourse with the King of *Spaine*, and another with the Duke of *Burgundy*, without any other Kind of Treatie, offensive or defensive, because both we and they have Allyes and Confederates, who cannot be esteemed Friends or Enemyes in common to both Estates.

And though it appeare, *prima facie*, that diverse things are to be handled between us, and these two Princes, in several Natures, because this last Transport of the *Low-Countries* may seem to exclude the King of *Spayne* from dealing particularlie as a Partie in the Matters of the *Low-Countries*, and so some things being interchangeable properlie between us and *Spayne*, and other things betweene us and the House of *Burgundy*, must be severallie applied; neverthelesse, because we see in Substance so small Separation actuallie betweene the Crowne of *Spaine*, and those Provynces, save only in Formalitie of an external Donative, to which they will give all the Credit they can, by severing themselves in Treatie and Conditions; nevertheless, *in omnem eventum*, we thinke it fitt to instruct yow how to proceede fully in all that shall either singlie or joyntlie be stood upon by any of that Side; wishing alwayes that yow do keepe this Advantage as much as you may, to make them the first Propositioners of Conditions, as they were the first Invytors to come to this Treatie. For when it is rightlie observed, how voyde we are of any Pretensions or Encroachment upon *Spayne*, not now desiring by this Peace to receyve either Restitution of Cittie or Country (for none they do enjoy of ours), but onelie beeing willing on our Parts, as they have shewed to be on theirs (after long and birter Warres, wherewith our People are afflicted) to come to some Termes of Quietnesse, for their Repose and Comfort, we knowe nothing on our Parts, so much to be provided for (next the generall Poynts of Amitie to be observed betweene Princes)

as the Care to settle a free and particular Commerce and Traffick for our Kingdomes; in which three things are to be provyded for by us:

First, To have an universal Trade in all their Domynions, if it may be.

Secondlie, To have Safetie from Inquisitions.

Lastly, To have a good Order set downe for the avoyding of unjust Taxations.

In these three Poynts, if we had onely to deale with the Kingdome of *Spaine* and *Portugall*, it were not needefull to spend much Tyme or Arguments; but seeing *Spaine* in Reversion, and the Archduke in Possession, professe to have Interest in the States of all the *Low-Countries*; whereof they shooke at the Establishment by this Treatie with us, labouring either by Force, or fair Meanes, when we should not protect them, to become soveraigne Lords of the same; wee do foresee, that out of that Roote wyll rise many weightie Considerations; though diverse particular Provisions for the States may be spared at this Meeting, because they are not declared a Partie to this Treatie, otherwise then a Partie so farre, as never to oblige ourselves to hurt them. And therefore yow shall not stick to use this plaine Dealing, even to the Commissioners on that Side, as Occasion serves, in declaring to them, that we will never be woone to any Act of Hostilitie against those with whom we are now in Friendshipp. And therefore for removing of any jealous Conceipts, that we have dissuaded the States of the *Low-Countries* from joyning in this Treatie, or not offering them to joyne with us, yow shall do well to tell them, that we have in that Poynt, as we have ever done in all things, proceeded clearlie, and not in secret, being alwayes true to our own honorable Grownds; and therefore may not hide from you, that notwithstanding our Agent hath proposed unto them to enter into this Treatie, yet we have found it impossible, as things yet stand, to make them hearken to yt, or to make them confesse, that it can prove other then their extreme



treeme Ruine, to trust so farre, as to committ themselves to the Power of any so nearly incorporated into *Spayne*, as the Archdukes are; of all which for us to lay downe in particular their stiffe and resolute Arguments, were but to tell them that which they knowe: And therefore we will onely conclude with this, that seeing it hath beene the yll Fortune of the King of *Spaine* (by the Partialite and Violence of his Governors) to have imprinted such an extreme Diffidence in their Mynds; we cannot thinke, that there is now any other Way left to remove the same, then the Judgment they shall make upon Observation of his Proceeding towards us, upon his Confirmation of Amitie. And thus much may yow declare unto them for that Point.

And because, as we have tould yow before, Demands and Propositions will properlie come from them, who have most Ends (we never labouring other then the Conservation of our owne, and the seeking to gayne and recover much) we will arme you as well with Arguments to deny those things which they may improperlie demand, as with Reasons to maintaine those few things which we must require, leaving all things else of lesse Difficultie to be spoken of hereafter.

It is to be presumed, that of their Part these principal Heads will be stood upon: First, That we will enter into a League offensive and defensive: A Matter which they do to no other End then this, that by that general Clause we should be lapped into an Enmytie against the *Low-Countrys*: And therefore that Poynt is to be answered in this Sort; That, in regard of the present State of our Affaires, we cannot condescend to so strait Confederacie; for that therein we should do Wrong to our other Alliances with other Princes and States: That likewise it would be contradictorie to the Alliances which the King and Archdukes have with others, and the high Way to embarque either of us against those that make Profession of the same Religion with us: For as, by this Article, the Drift is to drawe us to an offensive Warre against the *United Provinces*, who are in actuall Warre  
against

against them ; so we might, by the same Consequence, require them to joyne with us against the See of *Rome*, and others, that openlie professe Hostilitie against us : Besides that all this were no more then to end one Warre, and to begynne another.

Secondly, They will insift much upon having the two cautionary Townes. Whereunto yow may thus answer: First, That the Consideration of our Honnor cannot admitt so indigne a Proceeding, being expressely tyed by the Contract to the contrary. Secondlie, That in regard of our Interest in the great Debts, for which they stand ingaged to us, we cannot admitt the same ; and though they should make Offer to disburse the same to us, yet we will not proscribe our Honour so much as to betray a Trust committed unto us ; and so by all the World incurre a Censure of *mala fidei*.

Thirdly, It is not unlikely, that they will propound, that we shall forbear to trade and traffique with the *Low-Countries*. To which yow may oppose, First, The Prejudice we should do therein both to our People and Subjects, in depriving them of that Benefytt which that Entercourse affordeth ; and likewise to ourselves, in respect of the Customes that do thereby arise unto us : Besides, the Conveyniencie of the Havens of those Parts is such, as their Neighbourhood bringeth so great Interest and Safetie to the Trade of *England*, as no other Countrey can do the like. Secondlie, That seeing the *French* King, our Realme of *Scotland*, *Denmarke*, and other States, enjoy the Libertie of that Trade, we hold yt to import much to our Honour, to be tyed to any thing, which no other Prince is bound unto. Whereupon, yf they fynd yow so resolute in that Poynt, and so perceive we wyll not be brought to loose our Trades into *Holland* and *Zeland* ; then, because they will make it of as little Utilitie as may be to them, they are likelie to propound these Particulars :

That we shall not employ their Marryners and Shipping, though trading with our owne Goods.

That we shall not, in any Sort, by the Benefitt and Libertie of our Trade, colour the *Hollander's* Goods. That



That we shall not vent the Commodities of *Holland*, and *Zeland*, into their Countrey.

And that also we shall not receive them with *Spanish* Salt, whereof they have great Neede.

And lastlie, That we yeild to trade with them, as well as with those of the *United Provinces*.

For the First and Second, you shall not deny them; but that we are contented to yeild, that our Subjects shall incur the forfeiting of any their Goods which shall be seysed, if they shall have any such Practises; and the same to be forbidden in general Terms, as in other Treaties; but not with more restrayned Words to our Dishonour then other Princes are.

For the Third and Fourth, there is Reason to dispute against them, both for that the Propertie of the Goods being changed, they ought not afterwards to be forbidden; and that howsoever they may impose those Restrictions upon their own Subjects, yet that they ought not to be practised towards their Equalls and Allyes, between whom, and them, their ought to be a free Entercourse of Trade.

The Last they will also most infynitelie urge; both for that having interdicted the Trade with *Holland* and *Zeland*, their Provynces are thereby greatlie distressed; and therefore they must seeke to receive them by some other Meanes; and also in respect that receyving now their Trade by no other Meanes then onelie by *Calais*, the *French* do ransom them for the same by the great Imposts, which they have raysed, whereby they receive an infinite Profytt unto themselves; and yet make them subject almost in all things to receive the Lawe of them, in regard of their Necessitie. Hereunto you shall make this Answer; That we intend nothing more then mutual Commerce; and therefore wyll give free Libertie to all our Subjects to go thither; wherein the chiefeft Matter will consist in the good Provision that they shall make by establishing a commodious Trade by such Conditions, as may invyete our People thether, who otherwise may be  
verrie

verrie fearefull to hazard themselves, where neither Ports nor Townes are yet free from Outrages of their owne Men of Warre: But of that Point, we must leave it to them to take care; for it belongs not to us.

And if they shall also presse us to overrule the United Provinces, not to hinder our Subjects; alledging, that they suspect, that we wyll but temporise for the present tyme, and afterwards excuse ourselves, that the Men of Warre of *Holland*, that lie before their Ports, will empeache our Merchants, which they hold to be no sufficient Reason, but rather Connyvencie towards the States; for that it is no Reason we should more receyve the Lawe at the Hands of the States, being their Subjects, then that we will not be impeached by them to trade with the States, and directly alledge, that otherwise the Archduke shall receyve no essential Good by his Peace with us; in this case, if they do urge any such particular Poynt, you may answere, that they are suspicious of that which they neede not; seeing it will be reciprocal profitable to trade thether, and that we knowe the States will offer us no such Lawe, though happilie our People will be very dainty for a while to adventure, until they see them at better Quiet amongst themselves, where so many Mutyners are, and where they kepe Ships of Warre, which are yll Companions for Merchants.

Fourthlie, They will propound the Revocation of all the *English* Nation out of the Service of the States. To that yow may at first lett them knowe, how unjust a Demand it is, all Circumstances considered, that any Prince, who hath a populous Kingdome, Men of able and warlike Bodies, used to the Exercise of Warre so long as they have beene in late Years, should now be recalled into our Kingdomes; when neither *France*, *Denmarke*, *Germany*, or any other State, is debarred, or will be, from giving Libertie to Voluntaries to seeke their Fortunes, where they shall thinke best. Wherein yow may lett them knowe, that we wyll first avowe and performe it, that more then to those that are



mayntained for the Guard of our cautionary Townes, which is all the Suretie we have against any Practise of those Countries, which are so farre indebted to us, we will not give one Day's Pay to any Person living, that shall serve in any Place against them whatsoever. But seeing the Realme of *England* hath had annycient Treaties with the Princes of the *Low-Countries*, before ever *Spayne* had to do with them, or they united, any other Restraint upon our Subjects were hard, and must needes be of more Dishonour to us then any Prejudice to those whom they call their Enemeys; seeing our Restraint will not kepe other Auxiliaries from their Service. And for their further Satisfaction, yow may say, that we will not restrayne any of our Subjects, that would serve on their Syde, if they do voluntarilie desire it.

Lastlie, It is likelie they will forbid us Trade into the *Indias*; wherein yow must, by all Arguments yow can, maintaine, that it is verie disconsonant with true Amity, to forbid their Friends those common Liberties; yea yf the whole *Indias* were as meerlie subject to their Soveraignte, as *Spaine* itself is; especiallie when in former Treaties there have bene contrary Clauses, which have given Freedome of Trade into all their Domynions. And yett, because it shall appeare, that we will not be found unreasonable, yow shall let them know, that to avoyde all Inconveniencies that may peradventure happen in Places so remote, when the Subjects of other Princes shall fall in Company one with another, where their Laws and Discipline cannot be so well executed; we are contented to prohibite all Repaire of our Subjects to any Places where they are planted, but onely to seeke their Traffick, by their own Discoverie in other Places, whereof there are so infynite Dymensions of vast and great Territories, as themselves have no kynd of Interest in, but do trade with diverse great Kings of those Countreyes, but as Forrayners and Strangers, from which we barre ourselves by accord, seeing it is not in his Power to do it by Force, no not to any petty Prince, were both an Unkyndnes, and an Indignitie, to be offered.

Lastly,

Lastly, if it shall be suspected, that they will move to have any Restitution upon Reprisalls, or other things; those are easilie answered to be Matters never to be thought of, but to be lapped up; seeing this Peace is intended to provide for things in future, and not to dispute of things past.

Having now provisionallie enabled yow with Answeres to such things as are like to be propounded, we must leave other things, tyll we be advertised from yow what they are. It remayneth now, that we do touche some things fitt for us to demand of them.

First, It were convenient that former Treaties be renewed synce our great Grandfather *Henry VIIth's* tyme, for Matters of Enter-course betweene us and the State of *Burgundy*; and that in them be comprised the annycient Treaties betweene *Spaine, Portugall,* and *England*, and alwayes with this Provydence, that although they may be best done by the Viewe of former Treaties, last in Force before the Breach; yet must there be respect to such Circumstances as have happened in succeding Tymes.

Thirddie, That there be no Gapp left open, whereby the Inquisition may take hold of any of our Subjects; for which Purpose there shall be delivered yow a Collection of all the Cruelties, and unavoydable Advantages, which the Inquisitors took. And yow shall also receyve the last Order that was obtayned for that Matter in *Spayne*, after the Negotiation of Sir *Henry Cobham*, and Sir *John Smith*.

That there shall be Repayment made of all those Summes that were dewe to the Crowne of *England*, being onely sent for his Service to the Councell of State, and others at *Bruxelles*, which Summes are to be demanded by vertue of Bonds, whereof there hath bene sufficient Notice taken at the Pacification of 77 at *Bruxelles*. Yet the King of *Spaine* did ratifie this Article, in the Edict perpetual, made by Don *John*, in these Words: " Et  
" finalement agreons & approuvons toutes constitutions des rentes  
" & pensions, & autres obligations & assurances que les dits  
" l'Estats ont faict & passé, feront & passeront envers tous &



“ chascuns quil es ont assisté & fourny, assisteront & fourniront  
 “ de deniers pour s'en servir à l'occasion des dicts Troubles, &  
 “ signamment envers tres haute & tres puissante Princeesse, nostre  
 “ tres chere sœur la Royne d'*Angleterre*.”

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*An original Letter from the Bishop of Rofs to the  
 Counsaile of England, dated at Chattisworth, the 19th  
 of June, 1570. Cotton Library, Caligula, c. 2.  
 fol. 15.*

*My very good Lordis,*

**E**FTER humble Dewtie remembered: I have receaved your  
 Honours Letter by this Beirar, requiring me to signify forth-  
 withe, by my Letters, the Occasions of my merceing with the  
 Earle of *Southampton*, and what Matters were comuned or  
 treated upoun betwene us two in one secreit long Conferance  
 had in the Night; and that I shoold deale panielie, and as  
 largelie, as the Matters did pas. My Lords, I will treulie and  
 panielie deale in this with the Queen's Majestie, and your  
 Honors, as I have done in all uther Matters hath bene required  
 of me. The Occasion and Manner was thus: About Nine a  
 Cloke I passed over the Ryvar to *Sanct George's* Feildis, partlie  
 to take the Ayre, and partlie to see ane Gealding of myne is  
 keaped there at Gras. And in my Returne homeward, by chance  
 mett with the said Earle, who, after Salutations made, said he was  
 glad to have so mett with me, because we never did talk togidder  
 before, albeit we had sene each uther fundre tymes at Court.  
 And so, of Accident, he being bound to the Feildis, and I to the  
 Toun, he of Humanity returned with me, whair the Effect of  
 oure communing, in effect, was this as followeth: First, he in-  
 quired of me in what State the Queen my Mistres Causes stood;  
 for he had heard, that I had bene lang in *England*, suittand in the  
 same.

same. I answered, they wa now in better Appearance (Thanks to God) nor in any tyme past ; becaus the Queen's Majestie, and her Counsell, wa now weill-disposed to treat uppon sum good Conditions, for bothe their Majesties, and their Realmes ; and for that Effect, I had given in certaine Articles and Offres in Wryte ; and had conferred with her Majesty and Counsell thairuppoun, and receaved very good Answers ; and to the end that some Good Resolutione myght be taken thearintill, I had obteyned Licence of her Majesty to pas toward the Queen my Mystres, and get her resolute Mind, for satisfeing the Queen's Majestie. Then he inquired what State her Affaires were in *Scotland*, I tauld him, her Authority thair wes proclaimed and authorized by the most part of the Nobilitie ; but thair was ane Faction that maynteyned ane contrary Authority ; which was the Earle *Mortoun*, and some others. And laitlie thair is certaine Forces of *England* entred in *Scotland*, and joyned with thame. But now the Queen's Majestie wes content to retire the said Forces agane ; so being that all Armes shold be layd down by bothe Parties in *Scotland*, and Commissioners sent hether to treat uppon the whole Causes betwene their Majesties and Realmes. And, in the mean tyme, the Rebelles of *England* should be randered or abandoned, or reteyned to be answerable, at the End of the said Treatye ; and for Accomplyshment hereof, the Queen Mystres to send in *Scotland* shortly.

Then he answered, I pray God your Treatye may tak ane good Success, to the Satisfaction of the Queen's Majestie, and Comfort of your Mystres, with the Quietnes of both the said Realms. This was the Some of all was communed betuene us ; and the Conferance werry short. And, in the meane whyle, cuming forward to take Bore, we were gadered with the Watche ; who asked, if we had ane Bore awayting on us ; and we ansured, we had Two ; so they conveyed us to the Shore, and never inquired what we were, becaus it was yeat Daylyght, and not past Ten of the Clock. At our cuming to the Staires, whair I left  
my



my Bote, she was departed; and thairthrow we stayed a certane Space, till ane uther was gotten; than we entred thearin, and passing up the Ryvar Syde, to seak the other Bote that was awayting for the Earle, another Watche called on us, commanding us, in the Queen's Name, to land, which we obeyed; whair they declared, they had strait Command to see who travelled after Nine Hours; and the Earle showing that it was he, we were suffered pleasantlie to depart toward our Lodgings between Ten and Eleven a Clock. I will assure your Honours, upon my Credyte, this was the Effect of our said communing, whairintill I will tak on my Conscience, thair was nothing, cyther offensive, unlawful, or undewtyful to the Queen's Majestie your Soverane, talked or motioned amangs us. Whairfor I will most earnestlie beseeche your Lordship to move her Majesty to conceive no evil Opinion, neyther of me, nor of the said Earle, for that Meeting; for I did never meane to minister any Occasione of Offence to her Majesty; and now least of all, seing her Highnes in so good Disposition toward the Weillfair of my said Soverane, and her Causes. So leaving from troubling your Honors with langar Letter, at this present, I pray the eternal God to have you in his Preservatione. From *Chattisworth*, the 9th of *June*, 1570.

*Your Honours assured to command with Service,*

Jo. ROSSEN.

*To the Right Honourable, and my very good Lords,  
the Earle of Lecester my Lord Chamberlain, and  
Sir William Cecill, Knyght, Counsallors to the  
Queen's Majestie of Ingland.*

*The Flowers of Grace; or, The Speech of our Sovereign  
Lord King James, quinto Die Aprilis 1614. at the  
Session of Parliament then begun.*

IT was the Saying of the wisest King that ever was, that Hearts of Kings were inscrutable: But, in the last Parliament, I must

call to Remembrance the Comparison I used; wherein I presented myself unto you as a Mirror, wherein ye might see the Integrity of my Purpose, for calling that Parliament for the general Good of the Commonwealth: But as I then said of the Nature of Mirror, that it might be defiled by the Eyes of the Beholder; so did some of the lower House look upon me with polluted Eyes, and, as I may say, defiled my Mirror. I can say no more now, than I did then, but to offer you the same Mirror; protesting, as I shall answer to Almighty God, that my Integrity is like the Whiteness of my Robes; my Purity, like the Metal of Gold of my Crown; my Firmness, and Clearness, like the precious Stones which I wear; and my Affections natural, like the Redness of my Heart.

These important and weighty Ends have caused me to call this present Assembly of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Knights and Burgesses representing the Body of the Commons; which I must divide into three Parts and Branches; *Bona Anima*, *Bona Corporis*, and *Bona Fortunæ*, Religion, Safety, and the Assistance of my Subjects; which are the true Grounds of this well-intended Parliament.

For Religion, which the Philosophers, with the admiring Lights of Nature, called *Bona Anima*, I must commend to their Consideration the great Increase of Popery, notwithstanding the assiduous Labour I have bestowed, and the great Care I have ever manifested, as may witness both my Pen and Tongue; I think, with more Pains than any Predecessors; and my Zeal in private; not to vaunt of it for a biding Vain-glory: Yet I hope all my Course of Life and Actions will speak for me.

In this is to be considered the Cause, and the Remedy: For the Cause, it is undoubtedly Impunity, which maketh them presume to so notorious Declaration of their Increase; and this Impunity proceedeth from two Occasions: First, Some Branches of the Laws provided to meet them are so obscure, that I myself, with Conference with some of my Lords the Judges, cannot  
clear



clear them; as I could instance in many Particulars, if this time were fit for it; as in the Oath of Allegiance, out of which many Scruples are risen, and are yet unresolved. Secondly, For want of due Presentment in the Country, by those Officers appointed to it, according to the Provision of the Law: And in some Places, if presented, yet they are so favoured by the Justice of Peace, that, as a Lieutenant of mine in one Country hath informed me, he could not procure there any Justices of the Peace, except some of his own Friends and Servants, that would assist him in the due Execution of my Laws: And this, in the First place, I recommend to your Considerations; not that I desire to make any new or more rigorous Laws against them, but that this may have Execution; which is the Life of the Laws, and without it they are but dead Words. I speak not this for Mitigation, or Favour to them; but for Conscience and Policy: For Conscience, to avoid the Scandals which the Jesuits have cast upon the last Queen, of famous Memory, and upon my Government, that we have persecuted, and taken Blood for Religion; which I ever disclaimed: For Policy; since no Estate or Story can ever shew, that any Religion or Heresy was ever extirpated by Violence, or the Sword; nor ever have I judged it a way of planting Truth: An Example of this I take out of the Book of God; where, when many rigorous Counsels were provided, *Gamaliel* stood up, and advised, that, if Religion were of God, it would prosper; and, if of Man, it would perish of itself. Besides, Men are so prone to glory, and defending, and sealing their Opinions with their Blood, that the primitive Church, in one Age, declined into an Affection of Martyrdom; and many Heresies hath had its Martyrs, and have gone with the same Alacrity, Desire, and Assurance, to Fire, as those that have witnessed for the Truth have done.

The second and nearest Consideration to the Soul's Religion is Safety, or *Bonum Corporis*; which in *Latin* hath but one Word, *Salus*. The principal Safety of the Body consists in pre-

serving due Succession: Since the last Parliament I have had, for my Sins, and the Peoples, one and the first Branch taken off; but as the Lord gave me the Afflictions of *Job*, so he hath given me the Patience, and, in the end, the Reward, another for him. A Grandchild in his Place, whereby the Saying of *Job*, *The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken*, is inverted; I may say, *The Lord hath taken*, and the Lord hath *given*; yea he hath given me Compensation, a Son for a Son. For the Match of my Daughter, though I must say that besides of Princes, he is of the best; and besides his many other good Parts, he is one, whom, for his Person, I could affect, of all that ever my Eyes beheld, yet I made this Match *reipublicæ causa*; and for Establishment of Religion, have I sacrificed my Daughter for the Commonwealth; that if my Issue Male should fail, you should have, not only a Prince, born of true *English* and true *Scottish* Blood, but nourished with the Milk of the same pure Religion you now profess.

For Religion, in some respect for her, that being young, and a Woman, both subject to Frailty, I could not deliver her into the Hands of the Lion, when I saw so many strong and grounded Champions cannot resist the Cunning and Speciousness of their Persuasions.

Besides the Reason of State, taken from the Mouth of *Henry* the Seventh my Ancestor, from whom I claim my Crown. When he gave my great Grandmother the Lady *Margaret*, to King *James* the Fourth, he said there was no Danger in the Match; for the lesser could never draw the greater, but the greater the lesser: And this Rule was approved by the Providence of God, who gave Issues to the *Mary* my Mother, and the *Mary* of *England*, Heir of this Crown, and married to *France* and *Spain*, two mighty Kingdoms.

Therefore I desire you to shew your Affections to my Son-in-law, by some Recognition, that he may see that he is not had as an Alien, or unregarded amongst you; and to make a Decla-



ration of the Succession of his Issue, if God for our Sins should take away my Issue to the Third Part; which is, *bona fortuna*, or the Safety: As *bona corporis* is the *esse*, so is this *bona esse*, and most necessary. The extraordinary Charge I was at in this Marriage, such as I believe was never greater, I did perform in the Eyes of you all, for my Honour, and yours. It is not unknown, how by the Death of my Son, the Marriage being put off, I was constrained to defray my Son-in-law, and his Train, Six Months: The great Expence, both by Sea and Land, for transporting her into a foreign Country, answerable to my Honour and hers, and this Kingdom's, cannot be forgotten by you. If any object the Aids, I refer it to your Considerations and Judgment, how little it was, measured by the Times, wherein it was first granted by these; and every one of you feelth in your Fees of Court, that are my Servants, and in antient Rents, this Change of Times: Therefore, since, *reipub. causa*, I have undergone this Disbursement, it is *reipub.* Interest to repay. Besides many great Occasions of Expence, by entertaining strange Princes and Ambassadors, the great and long *Christmas* I have kept at my coming to this Crown, the Fear of *Ireland*, and the Consideration, that the News, both of Peace and War, are many; I doubt not, but your Affections will hold some Proportion of my Wants.

But I must be plain with you; I will deal no more with you like a Merchant, by way of Exchange; for every Bargain hopeth Loane; I will expect loving Contribution, for loving Contribution; which is, *Suum cuique tribuere*, the Sum of all Justice; and to take care, both for your Ease and Preservations, to come to account with you how and what it is so base for my Quality. I will only prove what you will do in your Love, and what the People can share, with their Ease. And notwithstanding my main Strength, I have chosen to rely upon your good Affections, rather than to search my Prerogatives: But First, I must clear the Rumours and Aspersions cast abroad by ill Affections, that  
there

there are some private Undertakers, upon whom I did rely, who would credit, and whose Industry would do great Matters. First, I protest as it is in itself false, so it is unworthy of me; because I had rather have any thing with general Love; more respecting the Course and Affection from whence it is derived, then By-Profits, by the particular Credits, of any private Men; but this, as I vow it is far from my Heart to accept, so hath it never been offered: It is true, that every honest and good Subject ought to offer his Counsels and Service unto me; and so perhaps I have had the Opinions of many; but never in so unworthy Proportions: This Rumor perhaps hath grown from the Ambitions of some Men, in the Election of Knights of the Shire, which I never heard before 24 Hours; which I wholly disavow, that I never did, directly or indirectly, promote or hide any Man from the free Election; and where any Fault hath been, I would have the Sheriff fined for it; nor did I ever put my Confidence in a past Parliament: And of this I appeal to all Sheriffs and Lords; let them accuse me freely. Another Branch I must add to the former, the which indeed communicateth both Safety and Profit, and concurrerth in them both, that we meet this Parliament, to remove and take away all Opinion of Inconstruction between me and my Subjects, which our Parting at the last hath rooted into the Hearts of many, both at home and abroad; of which, though some of the lower House were in part guilty, yet, I must confess, there was Misunderstanding on both Sides, and perhaps Messages brought between us, by some (God forgive) rather to continue and encrease, than to reconcile and clear the Error; but, *sublata causa tollitur effectus*: This being removed, and our Understanding certified, this shall be called the Parliament of Love.

I will begin my Parliament, contrary to the Orders of all others, who have like a Retribution their Graces in the End; but I will begin this with Offers to you, which I speak not to entice or intrap you, but sincerely to shew my Love, and Intention to unburden you of many Grievs; but I refer the Particulars to be



delivered at our next Meeting. To conclude with some general Notes, to advance the Business for which we are met, I commend to your Consideration the Time of Year far spent, the Weight and Importance of the Affairs considered, which it will stir you up to proceed roundly, and not to lose time in Ceremonies and Trifles. Secondly, to remember, that if Grievances come into Question, that you would use a Means: I confess it is most fit, you should present them unto me, every Man for his Country or Town where he is burdened, provided they be fit Grievances; and to heap them together in one Scrowl, like an Army, will cast Aspersions upon me and my Government, and will favour more of Discontent than Desire of Reformation. And do not believe, that I am so tender of my Prerogative, as some have rumoured me. I desire also to keep the Mean. As I would not lose any the Honours or Flowers of my Crown, which I received with it, but would rather lose my Life, so I would not ways stretch them; no, I will wade no further therein than the best of my Predecessors have done; and if any Contrariety arise, my Lords the Judges chosen between me, and my People, shall decide, and rule me. As touching Proclamations, which in the last Parliament were excepted against, as he is a traitorous Subject, that will say a King may not proclaim and bind by it; so did I never intend Proclamations to have Force of Law, but to prevent sudden Mischiefs arising, wherein the Law hath not Provision, until a Parliament can provide: And this I will speak, because of my last Proclamation concerning Duels; which I protest I did out of Conscience, to mete with the greedy Opinion of Reputation; seeing they have found a Shift to avoid the Provision of Law, by going beyond the Seas, by the Example of the late King of *France*, hoping it shall take better Effect, than there it hath done, by reason of the King's Minority; which how barbarous it is, that any Fellow, that hath been over in the *Low-Countries*, though he return in Rags, shall become a Judge of Honour, to measure, I say, this Inconvenience, till a Parliament could

could take Order therein ; which now I commend to your Care and Considerations. Lastly, the Form I mean to hold in Proceeding, to avoid the long Conference between the upper and lower House, which bred but Delay ; for sometimes the lower House brought nothing but Tongues, sometimes nothing but Ears. I mean to propound to your Lordships Matters proper to them by Bill, and the like to you ; and to speak with you myself, and receive your Answers ; this to prevent unnecessary Meetings, and hasten Business, that I may proceed to the most urgent Points. And I do purpose to continue this Parliament another Session, at *Michaelmas*, when many may be supplied in any Defects as this short time will not give leave perhaps to be amended ; for I will meet you often in this Kind, to shew myself, contrary to all Tyrants, who love not advising with their Subjects, but hate Parlace ; but I must desire to meet you, when I ask you nothing, but that we may confer together freely ; and I may hear, out of every Corner of my Kingdom, the Complaints of Subjects ; and I will deliver you my Advice and Assistance, and we consult only *de repub.* So shall the World see I love to join with my Subjects ; and this will breed Love, as Acquittance doth amongst honest Men, and the contrary amongst Knaves ; that as the last Parliament begun with Trouble, and continued and ended so ; so this may begin with Alacrity and Love, and conclude so likewise ; where Safety shall be abroad, and Love at home, and all Aspersions, and Rumors of Discontent between me and my People, shall be taken away, and we may sing together, *Quam bonum et jucundum !* And when you shall return into the Country, you shall have Praise, and be approved in the Choice made of you, that you have behaved yourselves discreetly ; that you have given Content to the King, and accorded all the Discontent, and jarring Strings of the Kingdom, and shall bring them home their Prince's Grace and Favour.

From



*From Lord Grey to the Earl of Suffex.**My very good Lord,*

**A**S, I am sure, it is not unknown to your Lordship, my Cause at this next Sytting of the Star-Chamber is to be heard; I humbly crave, yf it bee possyble, that your Lordship wyll affourde your Presence there. Myne Awnswer is put in, a Copie whereof I thought good heere to send your Lordship; thynking, that with the Byll your Lordship is allredie made acquaynted; if not, this Bearer is able to delyver you the Effect thereof.

Your Lordship's greate Favowre and Freendshyp showed unto me in all this my haples Trouble, for Want of other Meanes, I must in Words, with humble Thanckfullnes, acknowledge, with Vowe, that yf ever Occasion requyre it, the same shall not goe unmanifested in Deedes: In the meane tyme, I humbly requyre to be entred amongst the Number of your assured Freendes; and so do take my Leave of your Lordship. From the *Fleet*, this 10th of *February*, 1573.

*Your Lordship's unfaynedly to command,*

GREY.

*To the Ryght Honorable, and my very good  
Lord the Earle of Suffex, Lord Chamber-  
laine, geeve this.*

*From Lady Morley to the Earl of Suffex.**My very good Lord,*

**F**OR that through the great Frindship your Lordship hath of late shewed me, I repute your Lordship, my Refuge in my Extremityes, and as the Author of my well doinge; I am the rather emboldened still to recommend my Case unto your Lordship; and to communicate with you any Affayres, as with one,  
who

who I knowe doth truly tender my Felicity. And when my Suit for going to the *Spawe* seemeth to be conferred, by reason of an evil Opinion received against my Lorde my Husbande, through the Reporte of certayne his Speeches, to be publickly spoken, and Letters to the Queene's Majestie, touchinge the Lorde *Burlye*, whereon (for my Knowlege) I answered in my Letter to your Lordship, being ignorant of any suche Acte to be done by my Lord : And havinge of late receyved a Letter from my Lorde, wherein those Poyntes be answered by himself, I thoughte good to sende the Letter to your Lordship's Vewe, reckoninge your Lordship my most trusty Friend ; and so do betake the same to your Lordship's Wisdom. Thus, with my Commendations to your good Lordship, and my Lady, I committ you to Almighty God. From *Hallingbery Morley*, the 20th of May, 1571.

*Your Lordship's loving Cossen,*

ELISABETH MORLEY.

*To the Right Honorable my very good Lord and  
Cusine the Earl of Suffex, give this.*

*An original Letter from Lady More to Mr. Secretary  
Cromwell.*

**R**IGHT Honorable, and my especyall gud Maister Secretarye :  
In my most humble wyse I recommend me unto your gud Maisterhypp, knowlegyng myself to be most deply boundyn to your gud Maisterhypp, for your monyfold Gudnesse, and lovyng Favor, both before this Tyme, and yet dayly, now also shewyd towards my poure Husband and me. I pray Almyghtye God continew your Gudnes so styll, for thereupon hangith the greatest Part of my poure Husband's Comfort and myne. The Cause of my Wrytyng, at this Tyme, is to certyfye your especiall gud Maisterhypp of my great and extreme Necessyte ; which, on and besydes



befydes the Charge of myn owne House, doe pay weekly 15 Shillings for the Bord-wages of my poure Husband, and his Servant; for the mayntaining whereof, I have ben compellyd, of verey Necessyte, to sell Part of myn Apparell, for lack of other Substance to make Money of. Wherefore my most humble Petition and Sewte to your Maisterhipp, at this tyme, is to desyre your Maisterhypp's favorable Advyse and Counsell, whether I may be so bold to attende uppon the King's most gracyouse Highnes. I trust theyr is no Dowte in the Cause of my Impediment; for the yonge Man, being a Ploughman, had ben dyscafed with the Aggue by the Space of 3 Years before that he departed. And besides this, it is now Fyve Weeks syth he departed, and no other Person dyscafed in the House sith that tyme; wherefore I most humblye besече your especyall gud Maisterhypp (as my only Trust is, and ells knowe not what to doe, but utterly in this World to be undone) for the Love of God to consyder the Premisses; and therupponn, of your most subundant Gudnes, to shewe your most favorable Helpe to the comfortyng of my poure Husband and me, in this our great Hevynes, extreme Age, and Necessyte. And thus we, and all ours, shall dayly, duryng our Lyves, pray to God for the prosperous Successe of your ryght honorable Dygnyte.

*By your poure contynuall Oratryx,*

Dame ALIS MORE.

*To the Ryght Honorable, and her especyall  
gud Maister, Maister Secretarye.*

N. B. *This Original, with others, came to hand after the foregoing were printed off, so Order of Time could not be observed.*

*Duke of Norfolk to King Henry VIII.*

**M**AY it pleas your Majestie to be advertised, that on *Thursdaie* at Nyght, I receaved your Letters of the 16th of this Monethe, the Contents whereof is so moche to my Rejoise and Comfort

Comfort (to perceiue howe good and gracious Lord ye are unto me far above that I have or can desyre) that I am not hable to expresse the same by my Wrytings ; most humblie beseching your Majestie not to spare to employe the powre Body where ye shall think it may best serve, as long as Life shall remain thereyn. But surely, Sir, I have sithe *Sunday*, unto this Daye in the Morning, ben so sore handeled with myne old Disease of the Flux, that I was more then half in Despaire of the ceasing thereof; but with Force of Drinks, and Playsters, I am now stopped thereof, and trust to be hable yet to do your Highnes some Service.

And where it hath pleased your Majestie to advertise me of the Causes that dothe let yow of your cumyng into these Partes for this Yere ; of truth, in myne Opinion, they be of suche Importance, that Reason dothe leade your Highnes to take that Waye. And in openyng of your high Pleasure thereyn to the People of these Parts, I truste so to order my Words on *Sunday* next at *York*, to the most parte of the best of this Shire, and to cause the same to be done by other substantial Men, where I cannot be present, that the same shall be to their full Satisfactions, and moche the better accepted to understand, that of your gratiouse Benignitie ye are contented, in brief tyme, to send downe to them your most gratiouse Pardon ; a very great Number of them as yet remaynyng in mervelouse Feare, most humblie beseching your Majestie, that when your saide Pardon shall come hither, that there may be, at the least, Ten or Twelve of them under your great Seale, with a Schedule annexed to the same, of suche Names as your Pleasure shall be to have surprised, leaving some voyde Place, that I, and your Counsaile here, may put yn some more Names, if we shall thinke it good. I do thynke your Majestie doth intende to have the said Pardon to passe by waye of Proclamation, as your other before did. And therefore the more of them that be left in the good Townes to be seen, the lesse Despaire shall remayne in foolish feareful Hedds.



And where it hath pleased your Highnes so gratiouſely to tender my Sewtes for my Diſcharge owte of this Authoritie (that I have here moſt unworthie) not beyng hable any wayes to recompence any Parte of your moſt gratiouſe Favour ſhewed to me therein, I ſhall dailie pray to Almighty God, to geve me, or ſome of my Childerne, Grace to do you ſome acceptable Service, in part of Recompence thereof. And, ſurely, Sir, if your Maieſtie knewe what caſe I have been yn theſe Fyve Days paſt, as well as Maſter *Thirbee*, Mr. *Currey*, and Mr. *Wodale*, ſo ye would thynke I have Reason (if I love my Life) to be deſirouſe to be owte of this cold Countrey, where hath ben two Days this Weeke great Froſts in the Mornings, with the moſt cold Wether that ever I ſaw in ſuche tyme of the Yere.

And where your high Pleaſure is, I ſhold advertiſe you of myne Opinion, what Perſones are moſt mete to be of your Cownſaill here, to obey your Commandement I ſhall ſo do.

Fiſt, If ye woll have a Lieutenant, I knowe none dwelling in theſe Partes, that I dare ſaie is mete to occupie that Roome; and who dwelling in the Sowthe Partes is convenient to occupie that Roome, your Maieſtie dothe better knowe then I. And if ye woll no Lieutenant, but a Preſident, then I thynke the Buſhop of *Dureſme* moſt mete for that Roome. And as to the Two Erles that be nowe of Cownſaill here, though they be noble Men, and trewe Knights to your Highnes, yet unleſs a Lieutenant were here, I thynke no Hurt ſhall come thereof, though they be not of the Number.

As to Sir *Thomas Tempeſt*, Sir *Marmaduke Conſtable*, Sir *William Evans*, Sir *Raulf Ellewear*, and Sir *Bryan Haſtyngs*, I thinke them very honeſt, and convenient Perſons to be of the Cownſaill: And that withowte a good Interteynment, and great Charge to attend, few of them woll be moche

As to Mr. *Magnus*, a good old Man, and willing to take Payne as moche as he may, which woll be very little every Day more then other.

As

As to *Fairefax* the Sergeant, a good Man, and hath his Lyving so in *Westminster-Hall*, that I think a great Interteinment here woll scant content hym to remayne in the Cownsaill so moche as it were requisite he shold do. As to *Babthrop*, on my Truth I have not medled with a more just nor dilligent Man; but I thinke his Interteinment is so litle, that his Abode moche in the Cownsaill shold turne moche to his Hurt, considering his Lyving dothe moche depende by Gaynes of the Lawe, and he that shall be of Cownsaill here may be no Taker. As to *Lowys*, surely he is not only lerned in the Lawe, and hath a great Wit, but also is a Man in Dede, and as mete to serve in Matters of War as Peace, and hath but a small Lyving. If your Highnes woll have his daylye Service, ye must helpe his Lyving; and that done, no doubt, no Man from *Trent* North, both for Law and Warr, may compare with hym.

As to *Wodall*, I thinke no Man more mete to be Secretary of the Cownsaill, and wold be well content to remayne here.

And as to the two Doctours, I doubt not your Majesty wol be so good Lord unto them that ye woll geve them Leave to return home with me. Surely they are not only as honest Men as ever came in my Company, but also very wise Men and diligent. And forasmuche as your Majestie's Cownsaill here doth require to have lerned Men in their Company contynew always, if it might stand with your Pleasure to appoint *Chaloner* to be one of them, surely I think all the Cownsaill wold be very glad thereof; for I have not herd of fewe lerned Men in my Life have so good a Name of Indifference as he hathe. And though at the first Meeryng at *Dancaster* he was busy, yet assuredly I know at the second Meeting no Man did so muche in bringing the People to Conformitie, as he and *Babthrop*; which no Gentleman that was present dothe denye. Finally, I shall continually pray to Almighty God for the prosperouse Estate of your Roiall Majestie, with the Accomplishments of your most noble Heart's Desires. From *Sherifhoton*, the 12th Daie of June.

Your most humble Servant and Subject,



*An original Letter from Margaret and Jane Seymour,  
to the King, in Latin, very curious.*

**L**iterarium illud munus (Rex serenissime) quod a tua celsitudine accepimus dici non potest, quantis animum nostrum spe gaudioque perfuderit, quam acre calcar addiderit ad amplectendum ea, et omni opera ac sedulitate iis incumbendum studiis, quæ tuæ sublimitati curæ esse videmus, ut et ipse in illis plurimum possis, et nos, quibus optime consultum velle videtur tua serenitas, progressum aliquem faciamus. Et quantas autem tuæ Majestati gratias præter reliquos plerosque debeamus, insignia, singularis benevolentiae indicia, quam verborum assequi vis nulla potest, perspicuum faciunt; et quam si gratiarum aut actionem, aut relationem moliremur, semper magis magisque perpetua vicissitudine succedentia merita non tam premere viderentur, quam certo oppressura essent; præsertim cum nihil nobis sit, imo ne nos quidem ipsæ quicquam simus, quod non celsitudini tuæ jure debeamus: ita ut ad tuam confugere clementiam coactæ, non tamen dubitemus divinæ plane benignitatis Regem, qui nos tot tantisque beneficiis oneraverit, etiam illud adjuncturum, ut in ingratas non existimet esse collata, quæ grato debentur animo; cujus istæ literæ, quæ absentium solent esse vicariæ, significatrices erunt, felicissima omnia tuæ celsitudini cum longissima eorum diuturnitate precentes.

*Tuæ Majestati devotissima,*

MARGARETA SEYMAURA.

JANA SEYMAURA.

*Council of the North to Lord Privy-Seal.*

**P**LEAS it yowre good and honourable Lordshippe to understand, that we at this presente do signifie unto the King's Magestie owre poore, rude, and simple Opyniones concerning the  
Rebells

Rebells of *Tynedale*, and of others his Magistie's Affaires in these Parties, which we think shall come unto youre Sight and Knowlege, right humblie beseching youre good Lordshype to helpe to sette forth, and to despatch the same (amongst all others youre greate and importunate Studies) as soon as convenientlie the same youre good Lordshippe maye, for the Weale of this Country.

Sir *Thomas Tempeste* being sore diseased, and not with us at this presente, hath writtene unto us at Length all his hole Mynde and Oppinyone, as concerning the said *Tynedalis*; the Cotype whereof we do send unto your good Lordshippe here inclosed, to the Intente the same youre Lordshippe, after the passing thereof, maye gaddir, take, and omytt, such Parte of the same, as youre greate Wisdome shall thinke good and mete to purform any our sundry Lords Purposes in these Parties.

And moste humblie we besече youre good Lordshippe, that it wolde pleas the same to bee soo good Lorde unto us all, as to geve oure most humble Thanks unto the King's said Magestie, for the appointing unto us the House which of late was called *Saint Mary Abbey*, withoute the Citie of *Torke*. And thus Almighty God evermore have you in his holie Governance, oure moste singular good Lorde. Written at *Torke*, the 17th Dai of *December*.

*Your Lordship's assuredly, ever at Commandemente,*

ROBERT LANDAFFE,	T. MAGNUS,
M. CONSTABLE,	ROBERT BOWIS,
THOMAS FAIRFAX,	WILLIAM BOBTHORP,
ROBERT CHETLORD,	JO. UVEDALE.

*To the Right Honourable, and oure most singular  
good Lorde, my Lorde Previseale.*

N. B. This Northern Council, in another Letter to the same, dated the 18th of *Dececember*, give Notice of the Demolition of a religious House called the *Black Fryers* alias *Gofts*, near *Tork*, and of the House of the *Austen Fryers* in *Newcastle*, both which they beg for their own Use.



*Mr. Magnus to the Archbishop of York Cardinal Wolsey.*

AFTER Right done, and full humble Recommendations unto your Grace. Pleas it the same, to wete, that as touching all your Causes withynne your Regallity of *Hexham*, there hath bene of late some Busines. For albeit my Lord *Dacre* offered to divers your Tenants and Inhabitants, they being poor Bodyes, to lay downe thayre Rents for thayme till they were able to repay the same agenne to his Lordeship; yet they, and many other, wold not inclyne to pay thayr Rents and Dues; but gave many hawte and frowarde Woordes. Sir *Christopher Dacre*, perceiving this, sodaynly accused divers of the Principalls, and comytted thaym towarde *Wynne*, your Tour at *Hexham*. Whereupon sodaynly assembled nigh to the Number of 200 Persons, and came to the Priory there used, as was the said Sir *Christopher*, and required hym to deliver unto thayme thayr Neighbours that were in Warde, or els they wolde breke the Prison, and take thaym forthwith. The said *Christopher* charged thaym, in the Name of your Grace, not soe to doe, but to depart, as they wold answer at thayr Perills. And seeing he was not mete to medle with thaym at that tyme, he conveyed thaym with Polecy. And within 7 Dayes after he came sudaynly upon thaym, and hath taken divers of the Principalls, and some of thaym are in Warde at *Hexham*, and some at *Karlyle*; and they shall remayn till your Pleasure be knowne in that behalf. And as touching such busy Bodyes as fledde, and wolde not be taken nor come yn, as was commanded by my Lorde *Dacre*, therefore he caused thayr Houses to be burnt in thayr owne Sight, for the more ferefull Example to other Offenders. And nowe they begynne all to submytte thaymselves. And assuredly my said Lorde is mynded, that before my departing I shall have the Substance with me of all such Money as is owing to your Grace. And both his Lordeship,  
and

and the said Sir *Christopher Dacre*, his Broder, applye thayrin in mooste hartly Maner, that your Grace not only at this tyme may be well served, but also contynually from hennes furth withynne your said Regallity of *Hexham*. At my commyng up youre Grace shall be acertayned in many things touching surveying of your Landes, and ordering of your Affaires there. And thence your Grace shall have Knowlege of many things, I trust, that by my said Lord's Meanes, and good Polecy, shall enserve to your Proufite and Advantage, by the Grace of God; whoe have you, myne especiall and singular good Lorde, in his mooste gracious Governance. At *Kirkoswald*, the 13th Day of *February*.

*Your humble Prieste, and Bedeman,*

T. MAGNUS.

*To the mooste reverende Fader in Christ my  
esspeciall and singular good Lorde, my  
Lorde Archebushop of York.*

*A Brief concerning Tenant-right to the Barony of  
Kendal.*

THAT the Tenants within the Barronne of *Kendall* were antientliee Tenants at the Will of the Lord; and that that Power was often practised by the Landlords, in the removing and displacing of their Tenants, paying their Rents, and by granting their Tenements to other Men, so often as seemed good unto them, for their Profit, or otherwise for their Service.

That the said Tenants thus continued Tenants at Will, till the State, by Acte of Parliament, and the Courte of *Torke*, by the Authoritie thereof, for the Strengtheninge of the *English* Border against *Scotland*, did over-rule that Power in the Landlord, informinge them to upholde all these ancient Tenements with able  
Men



Men for that Border-Service, and maintaining the Tenants in their Claim of Tenante-right, so long as they did that

That this Service being taken away by the happie Union of both the Kingdoms, and therefore now no Cause to overrule those Gentlemen in those Countreys, more then the rest of the Gentlemen of *England*, his Majestie, for the better takinge away of all Memorie of the former Hostillitie and Separation betwixt these two Kingdoms, did by his Proclamation declare the said Tenants Righte to be extinguished, requiring all Landlords to make Leases, or sett their Lands by Indenture to their Tenants; withal declaring his Princelie Dislike that Tenants should prosecute their Landlords, uppon a common Purse, being the open and readiest Way to Sedition.

Notwithstanding all which, these Defendants refuse to take Leases; and have by dispersing of a seditious Libell stirred up the Countrie to make a common Purse, and soe to uphold the same Tytle of Tenant-right, under a pretended Colour of a customarie Estate, directly opposinge his Majestie's Proclamation.

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*From Lady Westmoreland to the Earl of Suffex.*

GOOD my Lord, have Consideration of my desolate and comfortless Estate, lackyng both Quiernes of Mynd and Helth, neyther beyng able to flie to any Place, nor knowyng where to have any Refuge; and besydes all other Miserys, I am in great fere of the Cruelty of the rude Souldiers; and therefore, albeit my Trust is, that your Lordship, and other of Nobilitie, wyll not of your Honours deale otherwyse wyth then semely, yet I most hartely beseeche your good Lordship, that such Order may be geven, that neyther I, nor my Children, nor such poore Servants as are left about me, may be put in Fere, or have any bodely Harm: And as for this House, and the Stuff theryn, and lykwyse  
the

Goods of such poor Tenants and Servants as are left about me, the same are, and shall be at Commandment ; but I beseech your good Lordship that some way may be appointed to save and defend the same from common Spoil, and that none thereof be taken but by Direction and Appointment ; for otherwise shall innocent Persons be utterly undone, and constrain'd to beg or starve for Hunger. Thus trusting, although your Lordship is come to be my Lord's mortal Enemy in the Field, you will not seek Revenge on me, and my poor Children. I live to trouble your Lordship.

*Your Lordship's*

*Poor and unfortunate Cousin,*

From Branspeth this  
16 of December.

J. WESTMORELAND.

Mr. DENNY, to Sir ROBERT CARR.

**M**OST worthy and my much honoured Sir Robert Carr, if I be bold, I pray let the Presumption I have of your noble Nature be my Excuse, and without more Preamble, give me leave to Remember my Love to Robin Hay, by beseeching you, if my poor Respects to you, and Zeal of Affection to serve you, may beg, not Merit, the least Favour from you towards that Naughty, yet beloved Son of mine, Robin Hay ; I know it is like adding Water to the Sea, and that your love and care of him and his Business is such as my means can add no more unto it ; but Lovers must and cannot chuse but utter Passion as it comes, and so do I ; for I cannot deny, but if it lay in my Power, that all should know I love him passing Well, which by this poor Mite I desire to testify, since I have no better, and by coming Hand in Hand with him to

O o

Sir



Sir Robert Carr, and craving as for, and more than for my self, a speedy, if may be, dispatch of his Suit; when done this Letter kifs your Hand from the Heart of him that would not be thus bold with you, if he were not vowed to be

Your unfeign'd and

Loving Friend and Servant,

THOMAS DENNY.

*The Epistle of Eleutherion, Bishop of Rome.*

*Sent to King LUTIUS. Anno 169.*

**Y**E require of us the *Roman Laws* and the *Emperor's* to be sent over to you, which you may Practice and put in Use within your Realm. The *Roman Laws*, and the *Emperor's*, we may ever reprove, but the Law of God we may not. You have received of late, through God's Mercy, in the Realm of *Britain*, the Law and Faith of *Christ*; ye have with you in the Realm, both Parts of Scriptures, out of them by God's Grace, with the Counfel of your Realm, take you a Law, and by that Law, through God's Sufferance, Rule your Kingdom of *Britain*, for you be God's Vicar in your Kingdom, according to the saying, of the Psalms, *Deus Judicium Regi*, &c. that is, O God give Judgment to the King, and thy Righteousness to the King's Son, &c. He said, not the Judgment and Righteousness to the *Emperor*, but the Judgment and Justice, that is, to say of God: The King's Sons be the *Christain* People and Folk of the Realm, which be under your Government, and live and continue in Peace in your Kindom; as the Gospel saith, *Like as the Hen gathereth her Chickens*  
under

*under her Wings, so do the King his People.* The People and Folk, of the Realm of *Britain* be your's, whom, if they be divided, ye ought to gather in Concord and Peace, to call them to the Faith and Law of Christ, and to the holy Church, to cherish and maintain them, to rule and govern them, and to defend always from such as would do them wrong, from malicious Men and Enemies. A King hath his Name of ruling, and not of having a Realm; you shall be a King while you rule Well; but if you do otherwise, the name of King shall not remain with you, and you shall loose it, which God forbid. The Almighty God grant you so to rule the Realm of *Britain*, that ye may Reign with him for ever, whose Vicar ye be in the Realm.

N. B. This Epistle being thought very Curious, and of remarkable good Stile, ~~for~~ that Time I was requested to Publish.

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By the KING,

*From the Original in his own Hand.*

E D W A R D,

**T**RUSTY and Well-beloved, we Greet you Well, letting you wit, that where the Hatchments of the late Duke of *Somerſet*, attainted and put to Execution, duly for his Offence, do remain yet within our Chapel of *Windsor*, untaken down; our Pleasure is, in respect of his said Offence, through the which his Hatchments deserve not to be in so honourable Place, among the rest of the Knights of our Order: You shall Repair to *Windsor*, immediately upon Receipt of these our Letters, and in your Presence cause the said Hatchment of the said late Duke to be taken down in such Sort as others in like cases have been, whereof fail you not. Given under our Signet, at our Palace of *Westminster*, the 8th of *February* in the 6th Year of our Reign.



MARY *the Queen,**Ab Origine,*

To our Trusty and Well-beloved Sir GILBERT DETHICK,  
*Garter, Principal King at Arms.*

TRUSTY and Well-beloved we Greet you Well, letting you wit that where the Hatchments of the late *Harry, Duke of Suffolk*, attainted of *High-Treason*, and condemn'd duly for his Offences do remain yet within our Chapel of *Windfor* untaken down; our pleasure is, in respect of his said Offences, through the which his Hatchments diserveth not to be in so honourable Place amongst the rest of the Knights of our Order, you shall Repair to *Windfor* immediately, upon the Receipt of these our Letters thereto Publish his Fact, and in your presence cause the said Hatchments of the said late Duke, to be thrown down in such Sort as other in like case have been, whereof fail you not. Given under our Signet, at our Palace at *Westminster*, the 23d of *February* in the first Year of our Reign.

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*Sir Humphrey Ratcliffe to his Brother the Earl of Suffex.*

MY Duty remember'd unto your good Lordship, this shall be to advertise you of such News as my Wife hath sent me from *London*; and that is, that Sir *John Williams*, Sir *Richard Southwell*, and Sir *Robert Southall*, they shall all be made Lords, and the Bishop of *Winchester* is deprived of his Bishoprick; and the say is, that the Bishop of *Worcester*, and another, shall be deprived of their Bishopricks. Other News I have none to send your Lordship,  
 fave

save that I have gotten a Farm that will be worth a hundred Pound, and thus I commit you to God, wishing your Hearts desire from your poor Brother to Command, during my Life.

HUMPHREY RADCLIFFE.

P. S. This Letter is without Date, but seems to be written in the beginning of Q. Eliz.

*The Confession and Supplication sign'd by Edward, Duke of Somerset, upon the Articles of Impeachment, being read and delivered to him.*

**I** Edward, Duke of Somerset have read over, and have considered the said 29 Articles before specified, and do acknowledge my Offences, Faults and Crimes done, and contained in the same, and most humbly prostrate upon my Knees, do fully and wholly submit myself to the most abundant Mercy and Clemency of the King's Majesty, for the Moderation of my said Offences, having my full Trust, and Confidence, that His Majesty, with the Advice of his Highness's most honourable Counsel, will consider my said Offences, Facts, Words, and Preceedings. That past, I beseech my said Offences be by his Highness's Clemency pardoned, remitted, or otherwise discharged, that I may enjoy the Benefit thereof, although the same be to me unknown; and further, I do most humbly beseech all my Lords, and others of his Majesty's most honourable Counsel, not only to be the Means of his Majesty to take ways, and consider my Offences to have proceeded more of Ignorance, Negligence, Folly, Wilfullness, and lack of good Consideration, than  
of



of any cankered or malicious Heart, evil entreat, or thought tending to any Treasons to his Majesty or the Realm; but also that it may please his Majesty by the charitable Advice of their good Lordships to have pity upon Me, my Wife and Children, and to take some merciful and gracious Way with me, not according to the Extremities of his Laws, but after his great Goodness and Clemency whereunto, whatsoever it shall be, I do most humbly, and with all my Heart submit myself. Written with my own Hand, the 29th Day of December, in the third Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord, King Edward the Sixth.

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*Two Letters of Sir THOMAS RANDOLPH, to*  
BUCHANAN.

*Viro per quam erudito Clarissimo atque prestantissimo Domino*  
*Suo & unico observando.*

I Am not my good Master a little beholding unto you, for your late Remembrance both of me and my Son, by your pretty and fine Device to make him read before he know how to handle his Book; whether he will prove learned hereafter, I know not; but far unlike to resemble him\* from whom he taketh the Pattern, that long before my Boy's Years, far passed many in Learning and Judgment, whereof such Increase ensueth, as in this Age is wonderful, and, among Princes, most rare. I look not for the like in mine, but shall think myself happy, if he shall resemble in one Point of a Number, what in him more brightly shine, than *fulsum sidus inter lumnas minores*, that your worthy and noble King, in so short Time, is become so skilful, not a little is to be attributed to the great Care, and Diligence of his Master, who, besides the Gifts of Nature,

\* King JAMES, when a Pupil to Buchanan.

ture, has added as much as by Art could be devised. In this, my good Master, consisteth your Praise, and in this shall your Fame remain immortal, though many other Things in this World have made you famous for ever. I leave to speak of many Things done in your Life, great, praise-worthy; but how well I like of the last little Treatise *de Jure Regni*, that lately came into the World I cannot say, as I think this putteth me in Mind of many Things more Praise-worthy done by you, especially the History of our whole Isle; wherein I may justly complain of you, my good Master, that I shall not have so much as a Sight thereof before mine Eyes be clean shut up, that now are become by Age very dim; what maketh you to doubt to let it come forth a Spectacle into the World, no less famous than *Apelles's* Table was, and as void of Controulment as his Work was, how curious soever the Doubter would seem to be? I pray you, defer no more Time; at the best, let us know what you mind to do with it, and employ my Labour, and charge me, so far as you please, that shortly we may enjoy our long-desired Hope, in a Matter of so great Weight; wherein you will --- I am ever at your Command; and so, my good Master, I heartily take my Leave.

*Your very loving and assured*

*Friend at Command,*

London, March 15,  
1579.

THO. RANDOLPH.

I send unto you two little Books, for two that I suppose came to me from you.

*To*



*To the Right Worshipful my very loving Friend*  
PETER YOUNG, *Schoolmaster to the King's Majesty*  
*of Scotland.*

AFTER my hearty Commendation, being lately moved with the Remembrance of my Master Mr. *George Buchanan*, by the Sight of a Book of his *de Jure Regni apud Scotos*, and calling to Mind the notable Acts of Life, his Study, his Travel, his Danger, his Wisdom, his Learning; and, to be short, as much as could be wish'd for in a Man: I thought the King your Master more happy, that had *Buchanan* to his Master, than *Alexander* the Great, that had *Aristotle* his Instructor; I thought you very lucky that had his daily Company, joined in the Office of like Service, and thanked God not a little for myself, that I was acquainted with him; for one that has so great Acquaintance as he hath with many Learned, and Companions of his Life: I marvel that no Man had written of it, being a Thing so common unto all famous Persons, and most peculiar to the best learned. Herein I may chiefly blame you, my good Friend, Mr. *Young*, so near unto him, so dear unto him, that nothing can be hid of that you desire to know. If you say that Time yet serveth; and that he yet liveth whose Life I wish to set forth, surely, yet I say unto you, that if it be done after his Death, many Things may be omitted that were worthy of famous Memory, by him to be better known than after his Death. The Cause of his writing against the *Gray Friars* is known to many; but afterwards, how they prevailed against him, that he was fain to leave his Country; how he escaped with great Hazard of his Life at God's Hand, the Thieves on the Borders, the Plague in the North of *England*; what Relief he found here at a famous Knight's Hands, Sir *John Ramfoord*, the only Man who maintained him against the Fury of the Papists, none doth know so well

well as himself, or can give better Note of his Life than himself can. As he liveth virtuously, so I doubt not but he will die christianly; which may be added when the former is perfectly known. This is desired by many, especially look'd for at your Hands, that can best do, and are fittest to travel in so worthy a Work. As I crave this at your Hands, so shall you command what is in my Powers, and thus wishing unto you, my good Friend, heartily well, I take my Leave.

*Your very loving Friend,*  
London, 15 March,  
1579.

THO. RANDOLPH.

*An Original Letter of Lord Buckingham to Cardinal Woolsey.*

*To my especial and singular good Lord, my Lord Cardinal's  
good Grace, Legate, &c.*

*My singular good Lord,*

IN my most hearty ways, I recommend me unto your good Grace, and so thank the same of your great Kindness and lawful Favour shewed unto me at all Times in my Causes, beseeching your Grace of your good and loving Continuance. And where I perceive by the Reports of my Counsellors, Bearers hereof, that your Grace is so well minded for the great Zeal that ye have to Ministration of Justice, that it well please your Grace at my Instance, to be meane to the King's Highness, that I may have his most honourable Letters, and also Privy Seals, as well for such Persons as murder'd one of my Burgeses of my Town of Brecknocke, as for all others which made Rescues upon them that attacked the same Murderers, and upon my Officers in taking of Distresses for the levying of my lawful Duties; not doubting but for



the Proof thereof, besides the Letter that my Counsel being thereupon due Examination of the Premises sent unto me, which is ready to be shewed unto your Grace, if it shall please the same to see it, your Grace shall have at the Day of Appearance of the said Murderers and Misdoers, such lawful and sufficient Proofs against them, that it shall well appear that they have deserved greater Punishment, as these my Counsellors, Bearers hereof, shall more plainly inform you; to whom it may like your Grace to give Credence, as well therein, as in such other my Causes, as they shall open unto your Grace. And your Grace thus doing shall greatly bind me to do you such Pleasure as in me lieth, by the Grace of Almighty God, who have your Grace in his blessed Keeping.

*Written at my Manor of Bletchingley, the 2d Day of October.*

*Yours to my Power,*

BUCKINGHAM.

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*The Duke of Norfolk's Letter and Warrant to  
Sir James Strangewyse.*

**R**IGHT trusty and entire beloved Servant, We greet you heartily well; and forasmuch as we fully trusting in the Faith, Wisdom and Discretion of your Person, have deputed your our Commissioner to sell certain Wood in our Lordship of *Hevingham*. We therefore desire and pray you to do your Device and Labour in the Sale of the said Wood at this Season, and the Money thereof to be delivered to the Bearer hereof. And in Case ye may not have Chapmen readily, we heartily pray you that ye will do so much for us at this Time as to lend us Forty Pound in Money, and to send it us by the said Bearer, and you to have your Money again of the first Sale of the said Wood, wherein ye may do us great Ease; considering such Matters as we have to do,  
touching

touching both our Honour and Weel, as the Case requireth. And you may be assured, that if there be any thing that we can or may do in any Season, for your Weel and Pleasure, or for any of your's, ye shall find us ready to our Power, by the Grace of him who preserve you in his Keeping. Written at the 11th Day of March.

Moreover, we pray you to give Credence to the Bearer hereof in this Behalf.

NORFOLK.

*Earl of Suffex (the Father) to Lord Fitzwalter.*

*Son Fitzwalter,*

I Commend me unto you, and send you God's Blessing and mine, letting you wit, that where my Lord of *Southampton*. and I have received Letters from my Lord Protector for our Repair to the Parliament; as ye shall perceive by the Favour therein inclosed, I will ye shall cause *Brompton*, mine Auditor, my Comptroller, my Surveyor, every Action of them, with the Men appear well.

My Bailiff, *Robert Bosume*, my Cousin *Corket*, and other of my Men, as be of the handsomest Sort, to the Number of twenty-five, to come in such honest Sort to meet me a Day or two before the Parliament, at *Kingston upon Thames*; and as in your Discretion shall seem best for my Honour. I will that my Cousin *Corket* fail not to meet me there with my Sword Buckler and Dagger, as I before willed him to do. And, Son, for the rest of my Things committed to your Charge there, I refer to your Discretion; not doubting but such Success shall follow them, as shall answer to the good Opinion I have already conceived in you. I pray you also, if this other or any other of my Lord's People send any kind of Cattle either to *Littleborough*, or to *Norr*. or to both; that he take Order the same



fame may be received and entertained as my own, without taking of any Money for the Carriage of them. My Lady, my Daughter, and your Wife, charge their most loving Commendations to you. And thus I shall commit you to God.

*Your most loving Father,*

November 16,

HENRY SUSSEX.

*Archbishop of Canterbury to Lord Suffex.*

AFTER my right hearty Manner, I commend me unto your good Lordship, rejoicing much that it hath pleased Almighty God so well to prosper her Highness's Journey into the West Country, and so fortunately returned again with her whole Household; my Duty were as my Desire is to wait upon her Majesty, which I would gladly do, but that the Plague is so much stirring, partly in *London* and partly in *Lambeth*, so that divers of my Servants and Household have had their Children and Servants of late departed of the Plague, whom I do sequester out of my House for a Time. I would not be bold to approach so near her Highness in this State that my Household is of. I hope for her Majesty's Contentation, beseeching your Lordship (with my most humble Duty of offering my Prayer and Service) to know her Pleasure. Thus sending my Servant for that Purpose, I beseech your Honour to let me be informed; and so commend your Lordship to God as myself.

*Your Lordship's Loving Friend,*

From my House at *Lambeth*,  
October 2, 1574.

MATTHEW CANTAUR.

*To the Right Hon. and my very good Lord  
the Earl of Suffex, Lord Chamberlain  
to the Queen's Majesty,  
At the Court.*

*Bishop*

*Bishop of Winchester to Lord Suffex.*

*Right Honourable,*

**M**Y Duty remember'd, I am not unmindful of your Lordship's Request for Pheasant Hens: There are two Difficulties; the one, as I am informed, the Time serveth not well for their taking; but the greater is, that I can *neq; præce aut precio*, get one that will take the Pheasant Hen in all *Hampsbire*; and yet I have proved by Request earnestly among my Friends there. I have sent for one into another Shire; I am put in Hopes to have him here shortly with me, who can do as is said very well; I trust to send your Lordship some, if not so many as I would, surely so many as I can come by. And so resting ready to pleasure your Lordship in this or any other thing that may lie in my small Power, I humbly take my Leave.

*Your Honourable Lordship's*

*At Waltham,  
Dec. 29.*

*To command in Christ,*

ROBERT WINTON.

*To the Right Hon. and my very good Lord,  
the Earl of Suffex, Lord Chamberlain.*

*Bishop of Chichester to Lord Suffex.*

**M**Y Duty most humbly remember'd to your good Lordship, I am most humbly and heartily to thank your good Lordship for your honourable Consideration in countenancing, comforting, and defending of me, and certain learned Preachers, in the Star Chamber, against the Libellers and their Co-acters.

For the which we shall be, during Life, your Lordship's most faithful and humble Beadmen to Almighty God, whom I beseech

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long to preserve your good Lordship in Health and Wealth, with Increase of much Honour.

*Your Good Lordship's*

*Aldingbarn,  
Nov. 16, 1576.*

*Most humbly in Christ Jesus,*

RIC. CHICHESTREE.

*To the Right Hon. and my very good  
Lord the Earl of Suffex.  
Speed Post.*

*Bishop of Gloucester to Lord Suffex.*

**M**Y bounden Duty to your Honour, remember'd with hearty Thanks for your greater Courtesy extended towards me, who hath nothing deserved the same. These may be to desire your Honour to move the Queen's Majesty to grant unto this Bearer, Mr. Hunes, my Register, her Letters Patents, to be Actuary during his Life, in her Majesty's Commissions delegatory, within my Diocese of Gloucester and Bristol. The Occasion that moveth me to write in his Behalf is, the murmuring of the People, wrongfully molested: For whereas certain Offenders in sundry criminal Causes have been commanded before me and my Vicar General in my Consistorial, and after due Examination of their Causes, the Matters have been finally by me and him ordered; yet now they are, by virtue of the Queen's Majesty's high Commission to me, and others directed for my Diocese of Gloucester and Bristol, now called for Matters once determined to their great Molestation, and no less Charges: And for as much as this Bearer, by reason of his Office, precisely knoweth who they be that, having offended, have suffered condign Punishment, by which Knowledge they are not again for their Faults to be convented, and thereby not to be molested, or by any Expences charged: And forasmuch also as these

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Inconveniencies are otherwise than by his Aid inevitable, I am the rather emboldened to crave your Honour's favourable Furtherance of this my Suit and his; in which your doing, I am to gratify you in any thing I may. This Bearer a continual Intercessor for the long and prosperous Estate of your Honour, and the Multitude delivered from troublesome Charges, to yield you hearty Thanks. Thus resting further to trouble you, I commit to your Honour, and the same to the Tuition of the Almighty,

From Gloucester,  
Oct. 1. 1574.

Your Honour's, at Commandment,

RIC. GLOUCESTER.

To the Right Hon. and my very good  
Lord the Earl of Suffex, Lord  
Chamberlain.

*Earl of Derby to Lord Suffex.*

*My very good Lord,*

LIKE as I have always found myself greatly bound to your Lordship for your continual Friendships towards me, so do I think me doubly bound to you for that honourable Care it seemeth by your late Letter you have over my Son *Strange*. And that after your friendly assured for his Attendance on her Majesty at convenient Times, it pleaseth your good Lordship to offer that Friendship, not only to advertise him of Times fit for his Attendances, but also gave him your loving Advice and Direction for his Behaviour from Time to Time, which Favour and Courtesy had been my Part. I acknowledge first to have desired of your Lordship Surety, as your Regard over him is father-like, and your loving Friendship towards me not small; so make Account of me to be by all means ready to yield your Lordship that which may be required of a Friend or Kinsman. And, as I have according



according to your Wish, advertised him that my Pleasure is, that he shall be at your Lordship's Direction, so hope I that the better there be, God will bless him with Discretion to perceive how much he is bound to you, and with good Disposition to endeavour himself to deserve it: And where before I have kept him at his Book, without any great Care of Apparel, or other Things fit for any Place, than that where he is, so now will I take Order that he may be provided of Things necessary for him in the Times of his Attendance at the Court; not doubting but as your Lordship doth wish him both learned and well-manner'd, so your Lordship will (the Times for Attendance ended) cause him to repair back, with a Charge from you to apply the same; and so desiring I may hear from your Lordship from Time to Time of his Behaviour, I commend me most heartily to the same, and wish you as myself to fare.

*Your Lordship's assured loving Cousin,*

From my Castle of  
*Rushen, May 13.*

*And ready Friend, during my Life,*

H. DERBY.

**I**N most humble Manner, I commend me unto your Lordship. So it is, that it hath pleased God to visit my Husband with a burning Ague, ensuring your Lordship he was as sick and as sore handled with it yesterday, as ever I saw him in my Life; and as your Lordship shall perceive by the Letter therein, I lent to *London* to a Chaplain of my Husband's, to send him Physicians; but he could get none that my Husband had any Mind unto; wherefore this shall be most heartily to beseech your Lordship, of your Goodness, that you will help him so that Doctor *Buttes*, or the *Spanish* Physician might come hither; for if they did but see my Husband, he would think himself half healed.

Fur-

Furthermore, there is a Powder that the King's Grace gave to my Lord Admiral, which my Husband hath a great mind unto; and if your Lordship could get a few of that of the King's Grace for him, you should do him the greatest Pleasure in the World. At the writing of this Letter, I had, nor could get, no Physicians as knoweth him, who preserve your good Lordship.

At Cheynes,  
July 29.

By your poor Bede Woman,

ANNE RUSSELL.

This Lady was *Anne*, the Wife of *John*. the first Earl of *Bedford*, and Daughter of *Sir Guy Sapcott*, Bart.

N. B. *This Letter is published to shew the early Taste for Quackery, which, like the Frogs in Egypt, got into the King's Palace: However, it chanced to turn out a valuable Medicine, and was purchased of the King for 5000l. It is thought to be what we now call the Gascoign Powder.*

*Lord Buckhurst to Lord Suffex.*

YOUR sodein and dangerous Sicknes, my very good Lord, hath brought no small Grief to all your Fren-des here; among whom, although in Ability perhaps I may be one of the last, yet in Good-Will, I cannot, I assure your Lordship, give Place to any; nor yet in wishing all good Helth and Happines unto your Lordship, which I beseech of God may succede unto you, even as well as I would unto myself, and as your own Hart can best desier. If meself or my Servis might any waies avail your Lordship, you should and shall at your Will comand it. In the mean while, I cold not otherwise satisfye mi Mind, but to send this Servant of mine, of Purpose to bring me Word of your Lordship's good Recovery; as I hope which I besече God may increase

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in you, if you have it; and if you want it, then to send it to you speedily. And so humbly I take my Leave of your Lordship, this First of July 1580.

Your Lordship's assured to command,

T. BUCKEHURST.

Thomas Parry, *Ambassador in France, to Lord Suffolk.*

*My very good Lord,*

I Have presumed to move my Lord Cecyll for his Favour in a Sute of myne to the Protector, which I subly desyre your Lordship to further what you may; as well be recommending it to his Honour, as when Opportunitie serveth, by making such good Ouvreture to his present Majeste, whom I serve here faithfully, and to my great Charge, and in a Tyme likely to grow Troublesome, for the Humeurs of Factions are here so rype, that there nedes but Fyer to put to the Flax; and truely it is already feared God hath sent the Fyrebrand. If the Protector and his Counsel, by theyr Prudency, prevent it not; for as I have wrytte to my Lord Cecyll, it cannot be thought what Jalousyes, so small and ridiculouse a Beginning, in two Days hath bred in this Cyte; and what Swelling of Harts, and how much it amaseth his Highness hymself. So far as this Morning it was advertised me, that his Majesty would nedes have published by Proclamation Ten Thousand Crownes to discover the Authors of the Faction; his Counsell stayed it, least it shoud impress in the Peoples Harts deeper Conceyts of Dangers than there is Cause (and so *furere ante furorem.*) Good my Lord, I humbly acknowledge myself already deeply obliged to you for your honourable Courtesyes towards me, and wold be glad there were any Worthe or Use of my Service;

Service; but what it is, you and yours shall command it; and right glad shall I be when any Opportunitie falleth out to make it better known than the present yealdeth me; for I woud deserve well, before I were troublesome, or importune to so honourable Friends. And thus I send, wishing your Lordship a happy New Yeare, with Health and Felicite in your Lordship; and remayn always,

Your Lordship's,

Humbly to be commanded.

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From Lord Powlett, Ambassador in France, to  
Lord Suffex.

My very good Lord,

**T**HIS Countrey is so barren of good News, as it is hard to find any thing worthy of a good Man; and yet good and bad must be taken in good Part; the Good, as a Blessing without Desert; the Ill, as a Punishment in Mercy for our Amendment.

The Troubles, my Lord, continue; but not without some Hopes of Peace; to which Purpose Monsieur *Villeroy* is arryved from the King of *Navarre*, and Monsieur *Biron* is sayed to be coming, accompanied with two Deputies, from the said King.

is yielded by Composition, when nothing was less expected; when there was no Want of Men, Amunitions nor Vitals; and, as their Enemy report in great Derision. It is sayed the Beseigers had more Cause to complain than those beseiged. I have written at some length to Mr. *Walsingham*, and I know his Letters will not be kept from you; and therefore I will trouble your Lordship no further at this present, beseeching you to account of me as of one that is wholly at your Lordship's Commandment.



mandment : And thus, I commit your Lordship to the Tuition of the Almighty.

*Peichers, Aug. 24.  
1571.*

*Your Lordship's to Command,*

A. POWLETT.

*Lord Grey to Lord Suffex.*

*My good Lord,*

**I**T beeyng my Chance eare I was aware too fall thus neer unto the Courte, I thought it not amifs, thoughe I myght not do my Dutie untoo hyer Majestie, in coomyng to showe yet my Dezyre to do it in Writing.---I humbly therefore pray your Lordship, that it maye be made knowen unto her; and that, as Occasion shall serue, you wyll be a meane to her for the removing of hyr Disgrace, and procuring mee hyr Fauvour agayne. --- I have too this Effect, wrytten also to my Lord of *Leicester*, but mentioning nothing of any thing wrote you. This is all that I have to trouble your Lordship with; so resting, as you have bownde mee moast assuredly youres --- I humbly take my Leave.

*From Sir Jhon's Thin's,  
Wednesday Morninge, 1574.*

P.S. I am going westward, if therefore it please you to have any thyng to my Lord of *Bedford*, I beseeche you let me be the Messenger.

*Your Lordship's, saythefully,*

AR. GREY.

*Lord*

*Lord Burleigh to Lord Suffex.*

*My good Lord,*

**I** Heartily thank you for your gentle Remembrance of my Daughter of *Oxinford*, who, as I thynk, meaneth as her Duty is to wayt on her Majesty at *Rychmond*, except my Lord her Husband, shall otherwise direct her; and so I take my Leave.

From Mrs *Tins*,  
this 27th of *June*, 1574.

*Your Lordship's assuredly,*

W. BURGLEY.

*N. B.* There is nothing worth publick Inspection in this Letter, but the Care which this great Man appears to have taken of his Daughter's Education, with regard to matrimonial Obedience. --- This Woman of Quality was to be directed by her Husband.

*From the same Lady Oxinford, Lord Burleigh's Daughter, to Lord Suffex.*

*My good Lorde,*

**B**ECAUSE I think it long sines I saw her Majesty, and would be glad to do my Duty, after her Majestie's coming to *Hamp-ton-Court*, I hartely beseeche your good Lordship to shew me your Favour in your Order to the Usher's for my Lodging, that in Consideration that there is but two Chambers, it would please you to encrease it with a third Chamber next unto it, which was reserved last Tyme for my Lord *Arundell's* Men; and as I was informed by my Lord *Howard*, he had it when he lay in the same Lodging, I shall think myself greatly bound to you for it; for the more commodiouse my Lodging is, the willinger I hope, my Lord, my Husband, will be to come thither, thereby the oftyner to attend her Majesty. --- Thus,

S f

trusting



trusting in your Lordship's favourable Consideration, I leave to trouble your Lordship any farther; with my most hartly Commendations to my good Lady your Wife. From my Father's House at Theoballs.

Thursday, Sept. 13.

Your Lordship's poore Friend,

ANNE OXENFORD

*An original Letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Queen Mary.*

*May it please your most excellent Majesty,*

**T**O be advertised, that at my coming into thys Countrey, he-  
ryng off fundry Riots, as well by the Reports of my Felowes  
as of your Majestie's Councelle, in these Parts, and by the Complaynt  
of them that were gone and repared to *Yorke*; where I and my  
sayd Felowes the twenty-second Day of this Instant, by Force of  
your Majestie's Commyssion of Oyer Determiner, dyd enquire, and  
have taken such Order therein, as, I trust, shall be to the Preser-  
vation off your Majestie's People, and Quietness of the Country;  
whereof I and my said Felowes have advertised my Lords of your  
Majestie's Counsell: Also, it may please your Majestie to under-  
stand, that dyvers Complaints hath ben made unto me for violating  
of the most blessed Sacrament, and takyng down of the Pix unre-  
reverently in dyvers Places wherein I have already conferred with the  
Ordenare, and shall, by God's Grace, travell, and assist hym, as the  
Offenders shall receyve condygn Punishments, to the Example of  
others, and to your Majestie's Contentacon, and as Occasion shall  
reynquire; and shall not fayll to advertis according to your Majestie's  
Commandment, and my bounden Dutie, by the Grace of God Al-  
mythtie, to whom I shall dayle pray for the long Preservation of  
your most excellent Majestie.

Greiffeld May 24.  
1554.

Your Majestie's most faythfull and  
obedient Subject and Servant,

SHREWSBURY.  
AFTER

To Sir R. RYCHE.

**A**FTE R my hartty Commendations : Whereas the Bearer hereof, *Launcelot Houson*, having a Brewhouse and Stable adjoyning to his Mansion-House, in *Barmondsey-Streete* in *Southwarke*, for some Annoyance, and other Causes, he thought good to buy it, and the same pulled down; providing Timber, Workmen, and other Necessaries for the re-edifying thereof, before the Proclamation lately published for the Restraint of Buildings : And now, having the same in a Readiness, is like to sustaine great Losse and Hinderance, if he may not procede therein, according to his Determination aforesaid; and for that Cause, being loth any way to offend, hath bene an earnest Sutor for my Letter to you in his Behalf.

These may be therefore to pray you, rather for my sake to use such Favour, and agree to him in his so reasonable a Request, as conveniently you may; considering withal, that he offereth to be bound that neither he, nor any other Tenaunt, for whose good Behaviour he will not answer shall give any umbrage. And so I bid you harteley farewell, this Second of *April* 1582.

*Your very loving Friend,*

FRA. WALSINGHAM.

*Countess of Lennox to Lord Leicester.*

**Y**OUR Lordship's most honorable and earnest Dealyings of late, in the just Cause of my poor Infant for the Earldom of *Lennox*, declarethe playnly your noble Mynd and Dysposition, as well to supporte the Distressed, (otherwise outerly unable to mayntene theyr Right) as also your most aparant Frendshp towards them to whom your Lordship professeth the same, whereby I and  
my



my Friends, above all others, do in Hart honor your Lordship, as by whom we think ourselves chyeſly aſſyſted in all our Cauſes, which, for my Parte, I can but acknowledge, and wyth moſt thankfull Mynd wyth your Lordſhip all Happynes, by whos only Goodneſs I aſſuer myſelf of a good End of that Cauſe; and ſo praying for your Lordſhip's Helth and Proſperitie long to conteneue, take my Leave at *Newgate Street*, thys 25th of *Auguſt* 1578.

*Your Lordſhip's moſt bounden,*

F. LENNOX.

MY LORD, My Mother hearing of the Infection at *Chelſe*, whereof, although there was no great Danger, yet her Fears was ſuch, as having not any fit Houſe, that for Neceſſitie I muſt preſently come hether by her Comandment, whych I have obeyed.

N. B. Elizabeth, Counteſs of Lennox, Daughter of Sir William Cavendiſh, and Wiſe of Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox, younger Brother of Henry, Huſband of Mary Queen of Scotts. She had by the Earl of Lennox an only Daughter, Lady Arabella Stuart, who died in the Tower, where ſhe had been many Years confined.

### Thomas Wrighte's Information of the State of Methwolde Warren in Norfolk.

To the Right Honourable Sir Francis Walsingham, Knight,  
Chancellor of her Maieſty's Court of her Duchie of Lancaſter,

**H**Umblic informeth your Honor, that her Maieſtie and her Anceſters, in the Right of her ſaide Duchie, have had, Tyme out of Mynde, Free Warren throwgheout all the Townes  
of

of *Methwolve, Feltwell, Hackwolve, Wilton, Wetinge, Cranwayes and Northwolve.*

*Item,* The stored Grownde thereof lyeth on the Toppe of an Hill, beinge Hethie Grownde, betweene all the saide Townes, and about one Mile distant from any of them, and is farre greter in Lengthe than it is in Bredthe, and runneth out with maine narrow Poynte.

*Item,* As well all the Grownde contained within this stored Grownde, as the Inhabitante Grownde borderinge rownde abowte the same, is soe barren as it beareth neither Tree nor Bushe growinge uppon it.

*Item,* The most Part of the Inhabitants Grownde abbuttinge upon the saide stored Grownde, for the Space of one Furlonge Lengthe or more, have used most commonly to lye fresh and unplowghed, and hath been used to be fedd by the Conies of the Warren; and yet the Conies have commonly used to doe some smale Skathie further into the next Furlonge sowed with Corne; yet the Warrener never paid any Skathe for the Hurt done by the Conies; for that her Majestie had free Warren over all, as there be Records in her Majestie's Duchie Chamber to warrant the same; and that there is such a Libertie that he ought not to pay any; and also that the Inhabitants ought not to kill any of the Conies in any of their Townes.

*Item,* If any of the Inhabitants have attempted to sowe their saide Grownde with Corne, abuttinge, as is aforesaide, uppon the saide stored Grownde, they have used to defende the same, by makinge and kepinge of Bankes or Wales of Earthe, or ells by settinge upp of Conie Hardells, during the Tyme that their Corne hath been theare; otherwise their Corne have been diverse Tymes much eaten, by reason of the Narrowness of the saide



stored Grownde; and of the greate and auncient Borrowghes lyinge so neere.

*Item*, Now of late Years the Inhabitants, to give a Color to their hayinge, have plowghed upp all the saide Grownde abuttinge or fydinge uppon the saide stored Grownde, even harde home to the Mowthe of the Conie Borrowes, and have left off to make Bankes or Walles of Earthe, whereby the Conies have and will (doe what can be done to the contrarie) destroy the Corne that shall be sowne theare, excepte the Warren should be utterlie destroyed.

*Item*, Yf the Warrener should be compelled to make Amendes for the Hurte to be done with the Conies in their Growndes lyinge so near to the Warren; the Warren runninge out of such a Length, and with so many Poynts, it will take away all the Comoditie of the Warrener to do it; so that the Warrener were better to be without the Warren than have it.

My humble Sute unto your Honor is, that her Majestie's auncient Priveledges and Liberties of Warren in their Townes, may not be any wayes prejudiced.

*Your Honor's most humble,*

THOMAS WRIGHTE,

*Farmer of her Majestie's saide Warren.*

Sir

*Sir Henry Wotton's Letter, Anno 1608, &c. in  
his Majesty's Office of Papers and Records of State.*

*Answer to the Lord Rosse his Letter tutching the safe Conducte.*

MY LORD,

I Am much bounde unto you for taking so kindly that which I wrote unto Mr. *Molle*, out of publique Dutie as well as privat to yourself. But whereas you require to knowe the Author of my Intelligence, I must therein crave your Lordship's Pardon : For although I paye (as I thinke wyser Men doe) oftentimes for false Newes, yeat are we tyed, by natural Equitie, to conceale owre Instruments.

Tutching the Mater itself, I could wishe (if so much Boldenesse might become me) that your Lordship would make at least so farr youre Profitt of an Untruthe, as thereuppon to unresolve youre *Roman* Jornie ; for the Pope, having been sollicitied for a safe Conducte in your Behalf, thorough the Meanes (as I am bounde by youre Letter to beleeve) of some that meant you well, without your Knowledge, and having constantly denyed the same to a Cardinal, that importuned him, (whom, if it were necessary, I could name unto you) I cannot conceive, after this, how your Passage thether may be secure for you, especially considering how you are descended and allyed.

I must not forget to tell your Lordship, that I have hereof advertised my Lord of *Salisbury*, more particularly bothe because it was a Thing (as I take it) of publique Consequence ; and for that it seemed unto me in your Lordship a Poynte bothe of politique and christian Wisdom, to provide for yourself, before your going ; a safe Conducte that might secure as well youre Conscience as youre Person ; so as in the Relation hereof, howsoever you take it, I presume to have donn you no Dishonor.

For



For those kind Words, wherewith it pleaseth you to conclude your Letter, I perceave it is my Advantage that I am not known unto youre Lordship; for thereby you over-value me. But such as I am, you shall alwayes commaunde. And so I committ you to God's deere Protection.

Your Lordship's,

From Venice,  
May 17th, 1608.

To do you humble Service,

HENRY WOTTON.

To Robert Cecil, *Earl of Salisbury*, and Lord Heph,  
*Treasurer of England.*

Right Honourable,

I Am intelligenced, by a secret Hand from Rome, that on *Thursday* of the last Week, my Lord *Rosse* had new Accessse, and some longe Discourse with the Pope, who never used any *English* Man more kindly; and at his departing, *V. Sig.* (sayed he) *si lasty pur vedere spesso, non occorre: che mandi prima a dimandar l'udienza mavenga quando nule*; would be given him some Entertaynment, least his owne Stock should not hold out; and that till then he determineth to keepe no open Howse, but to continue with the *Marchese de Taxis*, General of the Postes.

My Friend addeth that, *Si passa molto dun certo Valenzi uno che questa Barone Inglese ha attorno*; meaning, I think his *Diego*, who governeth him now more absolutely than ever since his Reconversion. My Lord himself is, by the Pope and Cardinals, opposed in their common Discourse to the Archbishop of *Spalato*; nay, they bragg much more of him, as a Personage of great Bloud, and great Employments.

I wrote before, how *Barclay* had obteyned for his Booke, an Addition of 300 Crowns yearly to his Pension, and other fair Promises, &c.

*Your Honour's,*

*Venice, St. Thomas,  
in this Stile, 1617.*

*With hartie Desire to serve you,*

HENRY WOTTON.

*From Lord Delawar to Mr. Cromwell.*

MR. CROMWELL,

**I**N my most harte wyse, I recommend me to you, very desyrous for to here of your good Helthe; plesyth you to wytt that I have receyved your kind and lovyng Letter, whereby I do perceve that you have, at my Desyre, obteyned by your kind Sute of the King's Highnesse for my Demour and Absense at this Tyme from the Parliament; and according to your Desyre here, I do send you my Proxy and voyde Place for them, that it shall plesse the King's Grace for to appoint in my Behalfe; desyring you, of your Goodnes, to send the King's Plesure, together with my License to Mr. *North*, Clerke of the Parliament for my Discharge. And thus, Sir, I do put you to Payn and Troble in my Causes; which for your proved Goodnes and Kyndnes that you have served me herein, in my most beste Maner I hartely thank you; for I ensure you that you have done me the greatest Plesure that ever I had served me, consydering my Poverty that I am in at present. And thus I will promise you that I will be yours duryng my Lyffe; and be sure your Goodnes and Kyndnes, if ever it lye in my Power, and in that I can doe, you may command me as one of your bownden lovyng Friends, and no Man more without Deceyt, as knoweth God, who preserve you. At my powre Howse the 11th Day of *January*.

*Yours, most assured,*

*To my special good Friend  
Mr. Cromwell.*

THOMAS LAWARRE.

U u

Lord



*Lord Mawtrauers to Lord Priuy Seal.*

AFTER my most humble Commendations unto your Lordship, pleaseth yow, that depertyng from your Lordship, I resortyd to *Croyden* homewardest, wher it is sayd that for Trowthe ther dy'd fume of the Syknesse; so be it; I nor anye of myne resortyed into the Towne, but abode in my Lord of *Canturbury's* Howse, where my Lady Marchionesse *Dorset* lyeth, and hathe done all thys Somer. This Mornynge I being redye to ryde thence homeward, had Tydyngs moste joyful, that the Queen wasse delivered of a \* Prince; wherefore *Englande* may laude God; which Tydings here I sent unto your Lordship, thynking to have fownde yow at the Courte to have known your Pleasur, whither it were meet for me to resorte to the Courte; but there your Lordship not being, my Servant resortyd unto my Lorde Admiral and Mr. Comptroler, there to them declaring that which I before, concerning the Infection at *Croyden*, have expressed. They thereupon sente to knowe the King's Plesure, which was, that in no wyse I shoulde at this Time resorte to the Courte; wherefore I lament at this Tyme my Hap, that by Chance hathe seperated me from Service nowe. And thus the Trinitye preserve your Lordship, besechynge you to have me in Remembrance. At *Croyden*, thys 7th of Oct. 15--.

*At your Commandement,*

H. MAWTRAUERS.

N. B. *He is supposed to be a Son of the Duke of Norfolk, it being one of the Titles of that Family.*

\* *Edward VI.*

*A Let-*

*A Letter from Lady Eliz. Bruce to Lord \*\*\*\*.*

*My very good Lord,*

**A** Ccording to his Magesty's Command, reseued from your Lordship, I do contynue here in Presone, and carefully perform the Charge you gave me; bot with what Difficulty your Lordship may judge: For he for whos Caus I am thus restrayned, passeth by my wyndoue to and fro to braue me, knowing how I stand comanded by his Magesty and your Lordship. This being true, I thought good to mak it known to your Lordship, and so due humbly tak my Leve.

*Your Lordship's at Comand,*

E. BRUCE.

*A Letter from Lady Berkeley to Mr. Cromwell,  
afterwards Earl of Essex.*

Mr. CROMWELL,

**I**N my hartiest Maner I recomende me to you, glade to here that you ar in good Helthe, thankyng you for your grete Goodness that you showed to me, the last Tyme that I spake wythe youe. I must be so bolde to clayme the Promese that youe made me; your Goodnes was then so goode unto my Lorde and me, desyryng you hartely to contynue the same. Good Master *Cromwell*, so it is, that ther is a Parcell of Grounde adjoynant to the Castell of *Berkeley*, which allwayes theye that hathe the Rule of the Castell of *Berkeley* hathe the sayde Grounde called which my Uncle and my Father, whose Soule God pardone, peasebly did enioie for their Rent: And my said Father, whose Soul God pardone, had a Lease thereof, and noue one *Anthony* for



for Malis, or ells for Lucre, hathe made instant Labor to Sir *John Dawneye* for the feid Grounde behynde my Backe, and maketh his Crakes, and putteth no Doubte, but he woll haue hit; which should be unto my Husband and me a grete Hynderance, and also a grete Blemysse unto my Wourshype, that suche a lewde Felowe as he is shuld so encroache upon me, I payeng as muche Rent as any other woll do; seeing my Father so long hathe byn, and I now am, in Possession thereof, tell now without Lett or Trouble. Wherefore, good Mr. *Cromwell*, as my Husband's Trust and myne resteth all in you to speke tu Sir *John Dawneye* for this Matter and Grounde called *Hampstalls*. That I doing as muche as any other woll do, may peacebly have, contynue and enjoye the Possession thereof, without Lett or Trouble; thankyng you evermore for your Goodness towards us, as knoweth Almyghty God, ho send you goode Helthe and long Lyffe. Wrytyne at *Berkeley*, the 26th Day of *June*.

*Your assured Frend during Lyffe,*

*To Mr. Cromwell, one of the  
King's most Hon. Counsaile.*

ANNE BERKELEY.

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*Lady Kingston to Mr. Wriothsly.*

*Master WRYSLEY,*

**A**FTER my harty Commendacyons unto you, thes shall be to advertyse you I have sente to know the Kyng's Grace Plesur, whyther my Lady's Grace shulde leue werynge of Blacke these Ester or no? and his Grace Answers was, that she might ware what Coloure she wold; wherefor, if you thyncke but conveyente, my Lady's Grace desyrythe you now to be a Suttor to my Lord Prevy Seale, to speake to the Kyng's Grace for her  
War-

Waring her Whiten Taffaty, edged with Velvit, which used to be to his own liking whenever he saw her Grace, and suiteth to this joyeful Fest of our Lord's Holy Rising from the Dead. Thus fare you wel, from

*Yours most bownden,*

A. KINGSTON.

*From Sir John Perrot to the Earl of Leicester.*

**R**IGHT Honourable and my especial good Lord, may y please your Lordship, that lyke as it ys my Parte to certiye you whoe is most mete to be Shyryfe in this Countye of *Pembroke* this nexte Yere, so thearfore am I umblye to recomende unto your Lordship's favourable Helpe the placing of one *Thomas Revell* in that Office, he beyng as I here in the Election, who I will undertake shall behave himselfe honestlye in the same Office; and the rather am I inforced to truble your Lordship herein, because there are two joynd wythe hym; the one call'd *Alban Stepneth*, Register to the Bishop of *St. Davids* and his Man; the other called *George Evens*, Brother-in-law to the said *Stepneth*, whom I assure your Lordship are two of the worst lyked Men in thys Sheere, bothe beyng troublesom Persons, having many Sewts against divers here; for *Stepneth*, yt is he whom the Queen's Majesty dyd put out of the Commission of the Peace for the wrongful Complaints which he made against me at my goyng into *Ierland*; and I beleve that yf her Hyghnesse ware inform'd of hym, she would not lyke wythe his placing in the Election; for that her Majesty willed him to be turn'd out of Office as before: And surely I must declare unto your Lordship, that I had not left the Service of *Ierland* soe soone as I dyd, had yt not bene through the Greffe of Mynde I tooke upon his and others wrongful Complaints made at that Tyme



againſt me. The ſaid *Stopnetb*; and *Evens* this Brother-in-Lawe, came into the Election by Mr. *Puckering* upon Sewte; but if there be no other in all the Countre that he could make Choyce of, but thaye onlye whom I have juſt Cauſe to miſlyke, I wyll not be ſo bolde as to wryte again unto your Lordſhip in the Favour of the ſaid Mr. *Puckering*, as of late I dyd, inasmuch as my Lord Preſident of *Wales* hathe at the preſent the ful Nomination of Shyryfes here; if yt woulde pleaſe your Lordſhip to call hym unto you, and to appoynte honeſte Gentlemen inſtede of the before-mention'd *Stepnetb* and *Evens*, to be in the ſayd Election, ſurelye, my Lord, it woulde be grate Good unto the Countree; and I in that Behalfe moſt bound unto your Lordſhip; and ſo I reſt moſt humbly at your Lordſhip's Commandment. From *Carewe*, this 31ſt of *Oct.* 1578.

J. PERROT.

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*From Lord Burghley to the Earl of Suffex.*

AFTER my verie hartie Commendations to your Lordſhip, your Lordſhip's Servaunt, this Bearer, hathe deliver'd unto me your Letter, dated at your Lordſhip's Houſe at *B* the 8th of this Moneth; when I perceive, by reaſon of an Information given unto your Lordſhip, by two Perſons, of a bad Purpoſe intended us from lewde Perſons, your Lordſhip was redie to departe towards *Porteſmouthe*, to geve Order for the ſafe looking unto and garding of the Beacons, wherein your Lordſhip hathe done verie well; and not without ſome Preſumption of a bad Intention, as by the ſaid Declarations appeareth; which I doubt not will be well prevented by ſuch good Order as your Lordſhip will direct for the ſafe looking to the Beacons, by honeſt and watchefull Perſons: And ſoe I leve further to trouble your Lordſhip at this Tyme, expectinge

pectinge thortlie to see you here. From the Court, this 6th of June 1586.

*Your Lordship's assured Lovinge Friende,*

*To my verie good Lord  
the Erle of Suffex, &c.*

W. BURGHLEY.

George Carey to Lord \*\*\*\*\*.

**M**A Y yt please your Lordshipp to understand, that upon the Receit of your Letter, dated the 9th hereof, I sent for both Mr. Dillington's Sons, by whom I find that this Day fenight, there came to there Father's House from *London* a poor Man, hyred to bring down Letters from the elder Brother to his Father, then being sicke, in whose Packett some Letters directed to me were by his Servaunte then brought, with some Newse out of *Flaunders* from Sir *Thomas Sherley*; but none such (as seemeth) there was reported. I have farther examined the Course of the Partyes Speeches during the Tyme of his Abodde here, and cannot find but that he was to be thought a simple Man, withowt showing Delight to tell Newse, or Wytte too devyse anye cunninge Practise. What his Name was, none doeth remember; but Mr. *Robert Dillington* his Servaunt, who by his Master was comanded to hyre some Footman to carry a Letter to his Father, sayeth he was directed to him that came downe, and that he dwelleth in *St. Gylles*, over against the Sign of the Horn. More hereof I cannot learn, carrying Matter of Importance.

This last Nyght I made a generall Search in one Instant by the better Sort throughout the Town, for all Strangers lately repayred hyther; thynking that upon the Lords grave and good Order, taken in the mayne Land, I should have found some Seminary Priestes or Jesuites retyred hither for a Tyme; but upon the Examination



mination of all yet brought before me, I can find none worthy to be suspected either in Religion or Practise.

For your Lordshipp's good Newse out of *Flaunders* I most um-  
bly thank you; and foe with the umble Remembrance of my Duty  
to your Lordship and your good Lady, I comytt you to God.

*Your Lordshipp's to comand,*

From the Park,  
this 10th of June 1586.

GEORGE CAREY.

*A Letter from John Browne to the Great Mr.  
Campden.*

WORSHIPFUL,

**I**T is not so preatily as pithely spoken of the Poet that saw no  
further than Nature's Light would give him Leve, *Oderunt bi-  
larem tristes, trestemque jocos*, with that that followeth, which the  
Prince and Patron of Eloquence, *Marcus Cicero*, in other Wordes,  
tending to the same Purpose, uttereth thus: *Similitudo morum parit  
amistias*. If it fare so with those that live under the Law of Grace,  
and have God for their Guide *in portu navigamus*; but if they  
should be of another Opinion, as commonly it falleth it out, so  
many Men so many Mindes, *ferimus funditus*. Sir, you are for  
learning a Man of no mean Note, and there was a Time when  
my poor selfe in som mesure was register'd in the same Kalendar,  
untill Want brought my Witts into their Wane; *tum tua res agitur  
paries cum proximus ardet*: The Cause, nevertheless, of these my  
Cares, I protest proceedeth not of my Looseness, but their Lewd-  
ness, whom, as I thought, I had so fast bownd with the Chaines of  
inseperable Friendshippe; *in ore verba lactis*. This, and nothing  
but this, which I finde and feele to be too much, hath made me  
buy mye too late Repentance at so dear a Price; *consilium post facta  
imber post tempora frugum*; but if ever Opportunity offer herselfe  
again,

again, as to the Almightye nothinge is impossible, beleve it, I will lay faster holde on her Foretop: *Qui semel est lesus vires intelliget igne.* In the mean Space, if after divers and sundry Trubles, my many Years and more Povertie or my Partes, whereof I will not boast; may prove Reasones of anye Reckoning in your grave Accounte to stir up in you a Heart and a Hand, the one open to entertain Compassion, and the other out-stretched toward the Repare of my decayed Estate; I shall have just Cause to report that, with a few others, you have learn'd that godly Lesson of that blessed Apostle *Benefac omnibus*, because with the greater Number you shake me not off with this idle and fruitless Answer *Nescio vous*; for so godly a Deed (my Insufficiency to make Satisfaction consider'd) I am driven to refer you to that in the Scripture, *Qui dat pauperibus dat Domino*; and he shall have his Principal return'd, with more than double Interest. I take myne umble Leve, and leving you the Lorde's Usurer, attend in Person the comfortable Answer of tru Devotion.

*Misfryes Anatomy,*

To the Worshipful Mr. Campden,  
at his House in the Deane's Yard  
at Westminster.

JOHN BROWN.

*Sir Henry Sidney to the Earl of Suffex.*

*My verie good Lorde,*

THIS Bearer, *John Quarrell*, beinge verie hardelie and unnaturallie delt withall by his crooked Father, is come over unto *England* to seeke some Redresse, and praiethe my Furtherance to the Lords for Letters of Justice in his Favoure: And because your Lordship knowethe that he is his Father's onlie legitimate

Y y

and



and naturall Sonne, and that you tooke him as the best Pledge for the Loialtie of his Father : And since that Time, albeit I could never lerne that, either by his Disobedience or any other Misorder, that he hath given any Occasion to his Father of Mislike ; yet, so maliciouſlie is his Father bent againſt him, that he hath not onlie baniſhed him his Sight, and fought by all meanes he coule to diſinherite him ; but alſoe, by violent Dealinge and Extremitie, taken from him ſuche Eſtates and Leaſes as he had from the Rent of the Seales of the Writinges, and by ſtronge Hands withholdeth his Right from him : His humble Sute is to be reſeſſed and reſtored to his own, and for that Purpoſe craveth Letters to the Deputie.

I beſeche your Lordſhip, let him have your honourable Furtherance for the obtayninge of his Deſire : It ſemethe that he findethe the leſs Favours at his Father's Handes, becauſe he is ſo muche bent to live orderlie, and in Lyalty. As he hath bene bredd and brought up heare in *Englande*, and enclinethe not himſelf to live in that beaſtly Order that they doe ; he is ſoe muche the rather to be favoured. I pray your Lordſhip the rather at my Commendacion of his Cauſe, take Pittie and Comiſeration of his Eſtate ; he is turned out of all ; he dependethe onlie on your Lordſhip's Favours to be holpen ; and even ſoe I humbly take my Leve of your good Lordſhip. From the Q. Caſtell of *Ludlow*, the 26th of *October* 1575.

*Your good Lordſhip's*

*Loving Brother to commande,*

H. SYDNEY.

*Lord*

*Lord Fitzwauter to his Father the Earl of Suffex.*

**M**Y Duety remembred to your good Lordship, with Desire of your dayly Blessyng; yt may please your good Lordship to understand, that, whereas I promysed you to wayte on you at the House of *Attelborowe* before *Crystmas*, the which I would gladly haue done accordyng to my Duety. Now the *Scotishe* Embassadors beyng arryued, and I appoynted to geue Attendaunce therefore at the Corte, I shall most humbly requyre your Lordship to accept my Wyll to due my Duety in the Place of doying yt inded; the which, yf I myght, I would gladly fulfyll; my Lord Cancelor is mery, and hath hym comended to your Lordship, and comanded me to wryte to your Lordship, that the Parliament shall hold at his Day appoynted after *Crystmas*; and beyng destytute of other Matter to wryte to your Lordship of, my Duety remembred to my good Lady, I shall for this present comytt your Lordship, with my Lady, to the Tuytion of God.

*Your most humble and obedyent Son,*

THOMAS FYTZWAUTERS.

*Strangers and Aliens borne, that inherited Landes in England, before the Statut of 21 Ed. III.*

**I**N the Dayes of Kinge *John*, Patrike of *Dunbarre*, Erle of the *Marches* of *Scotland*, beinge a natieue *Scotte*, held the Barony of *Benelegb* in *Northumberland*, as lykewise his Auncesters, from the Tyme of Kinge *Henry* the Firſt, had done. *Ut ſit inbaron et ut baron inter Reges Angliæ et Scotiæ.*

*Henry,*



*Henry*, Sonne to *David*, Kinge of *Scottes*, inherited the Erldome *Huntingdon* in *England*, in the Right of *Maude*, the Countesse his Mother, Heire to Erle *Waltberf*; and that in the third Yere of Kinge *Stephan*.

*David*, the younger Sonne of the said *Henry*, held the same Erldome of *Huntingdon* in the Dayes of Kinge *Richard* the First, after the Death of *Simon* of *St. Lie*.

*John*, Sonne of *David*, lykewise borne in *Scotlande*, held the same Erldome of *Huntingdon* after his Father, also the Erldome of *Chester* in the Right of his Mother, that was Erle *Ranolph*, *Blunde Villes*, Sister and Co-heire.

*David* of *Strabolyb*, a *Scotte*, Erle of *Arboll* in *Scotland*, held in *Northumberland* two Partes of the Mannor of *Ponteland*, *Little Eland*, *Culverdon*, and the Town of *Merdeffen*; as also the Mannor of *Pottewike* in *Norfolk*, the Mannor of *Braborne* in *Kent*, the Mannor of *Byrbindon* in *Buckinghamshire*, and the Mannor of *Kentwell* in *Suffolk*, to him descended from *Isabell* of *Dovorre* his Grandmother. This *David* was sleyn in the Forest of *Kilblene* in *Scotland*, Anno 1337. 11 Ed. III. And *David* his Sonne enjoyed those Lands after him, who lefte two Daughters marryed here in *England*, and enherited his Landes here.

*Gilbert Umfreville*, a *Scotte*, Erle of *Anguishe*, held the Castell of *Prudbow* in *Northumberland*, and dyvers other Landes, as his Lordship of *Kyme* in *Lincolneshire*, in the Right of Dame *Luce* his Mother, Daughter and Heire of *Philip*, Lord of *Kyme*. Anno Primo. E. II.

Divers of the House of *Bretaigne* held Landes in *England*, beydes the Erldom of *Richemond*, although they were borne beyond the Seas, in the Dayes of Kinge *Edward* the Second and the Third.

*Ex registro cartarum spectan. abba de offency in* } *Ego Robertus.*  
*Com. Oxon. de Anno 1585. Misselan. lib. 4.* }

*A few*

*A few Precedents collected out of diverse of the Kings of Eng-  
lande, of their creatinge severall Persons, bothe Strangers  
and English, into Titles of Honor and Precedence; those  
Persons not havinge Landes in the Kingdomes of their Tytles,  
at the Tyme of their Creations.*

- |  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| 1 Rich. I. Otho, a Bavarian,<br>made Earle of Yorke,   | } | <i>Before any Parliament in Eng-<br/>land, and never had Lande in<br/>England.</i>   |
| 25 Edw. I. Gilbert Umfrevile,<br>a Scottish Man, made Earle<br>of Anguifhe.  | } | <i>Called to Parliament by that Tytle,<br/>all Edw. I. Edw. II. and Edw.<br/>III's Tymes; and although bee<br/>and his Heirs held that Ranke in<br/>England, yet had they no Landes<br/>in Scotland, or Inquisitions here.</i> |
| 12 Ed. II. John Bermyngham,<br>an Englishman, created Earle<br>of Lowthe in Ireland,                                     | } | <i>And sate in Parliament att Yorke,<br/>althoughe bee had no Landes in<br/>England, nor yet in Ireland.</i>   |
| 16 Ed. III. John de Hounolte,<br>(borne there) made Earle of<br>Cambridge,   | } | <i>Without Lande in England.</i>   |
| 1 Ric. II. Guicharge Dangle,<br>a Norman, created Earle of<br>Cambridge,   | } | <i>And sate in Parliament here, with-<br/>out any Landes in England.</i>   |
| 8 Ric. II. Robert de Vere, cre-<br>ated Marqueffe of Dublyn<br>in Ireland,   | } | <i>Sate in Parliament in England in<br/>that Ranck, and yet had then no<br/>Landes in Ireland.</i>   |
| 21 Ric. II. Edw. Plantaginet,<br>in the Life-tyme of his Fa-<br>ther, created Duke of Albe-<br>marle and Earle of Corke, | } | <i>And sate in Parliament in the<br/>Ranke of Duke, and yett had no<br/>Landes neyther in Fraunce nor in<br/>Ireland where his Tytles laye.</i>  |
| 12 Hen. VI. John Beaumont,<br>a Norman,  | } | <i>Sate in Parliament a Baron, but<br/>had then no Landes in England.</i>  |
| 21 Hen. VI. James Butler, in<br>the Life-tyme of his Father<br>created Earle of Wiltshire,                               | } | <i>Had no Lande in England at the<br/>Tyme of his Creation, yet sate in<br/>Parliament in England.</i>   |



- 12 Edw. IV. Lewis de Bruges, a Burgundian, created Earle of Wyncheſter, } *And continued Earle of England, without any Landes in it, until the 15th of Henry the VIIIth, when he voluntarily reſigned his Earldome.*
- 1 Hen. VII. Phillip de Chandew, a Bryttaine, Earle of Bathe, } *Without Lande in England.*
- Tempore regis Caroli.* Marqueſſe Hamilton, a Scottiſh Man, created Earle of Cambridge, } *And both himſelf, and his Sonne after him, have ſate in that Ranke in Parliament; yet never had Land in England.*
- James Ramſey, created Viſc. Haddington in Scotland, } *Alwayes was allowed his Ranke here, although at his Creation he had no Landes in Scotland nor England.*
- Viſcount Fawkland, Viſcount Dunbarr, } *Although they have no Landes in Scotland, and though the Parliament petition'd againſt their Place, yet his Maieſty and all Men allowed them their Ranke.*
- Tempore regis Caroli.* The preſent Earle of Oxford, } *Had ſate in Parliament, and enjoyeth his Ranke, although he have no Landes in England.*
- The now Lord Cromwell } *Did the like, having then no Lande in England.*
- Viſcount Feildinge, in the Life of his Father, called to Parliament a Baron, } *Did the like alſo in the like Caſe.*

Which Examples doe manifeſt, that his Maieſty, being Kinge of Irelande, thoſe Perſons whome he hath created into Tytles here, though they have no Lands in that Region, yet ought they to enjoy the Place and Ranke of their Tytles.

There

*There being a religious Dispute now in France, I have published the following Intelligences, &c. in Sir Henry Norris's Embassy in 1566 and 67; to which are added, the Speeches of Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Henry Cobham, at their Audiences, and several curious Letters in that Embassy.*

THE 5th of January, 1566, I came to *Dover*, and on the 19th to *Paris*, where I was met by *Monf. La Region* and *Monf.* having a Present sent to me by the King; the 22d I had my Audience, and on the 23d I was invited to the Triumphe and Challenge, whereat the King was present in Person.

1566. The *Turk*, understanding of the Division amongst the Christian Princes, doth prepare and arm himself as much as he can to invade *Christendom*, and to offend the Emperor, and King of *Spain*; having made Peace and Accord with all his Neighbours, to the Intent he may be able to go forward with his Purpose; whereby it is thought that the King of *Spain* shall be so occupied to defend himself at home, as to have no Levys to carry this Year down into *Flanders*, to suppress the Protestants there.

The *Turk* hath made Peace with the *Sophy Tamberlan*, and other his Neighbours, with whom he had any Occasion or Quarrell, only because he will not be lett with any other Occasion from executing his Purpose.

The Noblemen of the *Lowe Countries* have offered to the King of *Spain*, that if he will discharge them quitt of the Inquisition, they will quiet his Country again, and banish both Preaching and Preachers from them.

ADVERTISEMENT from the 19th Jan.

*Constantinople.* The great Lord, Son of the Soldan *Solliman*, the Great *Turk*, is crowned upon Conditions, having bound it with his



his Oath to follow the Wars begun by his Father against the Emperor, to the Destruction of all the Christians.

*Hungaria.* The Emperor is in great Fear, lest the Noblemen of *Hungary* will turn to the Part of \_\_\_\_\_ of *Transylvania*, to whom belongeth the Kingdom of *Hungary*, as he saith.

*D'Alamagne.* The Emperor hath sent Letters to the King of *Spain*, praying him to leave his Enterprize and Voyage into *Flanders* against the Protestants; and if he will take that Enterprize, he shall not be able to defend his Country of *Hungary*; for the *Turk* cometh as strongly as he ever did before. And the Princes of *Almagne* are in such a Readiness to help the Religious (as they call them) as he can have no Help of them, as aforetime he was wonted to have.

*D'Italia.* \_\_\_\_\_ that maketh War against the *Genoese* in *Corfica*, hath sent to the *French* King to requier Aid and Succour, otherwise he must deliver *Corfica* into the Hands of the *Turks*.

*D'Espagne.* The King of *Spain* hath put an Imposition and Tax upon the Merchants of thirty-five \_\_\_\_\_ wherewith the People is much moved; and it is feared it will breed Sedition: Also the Nobility are ill content for the Imposition that is sett on Salt, which they sell in *Spain*. ---- The Preparation of the Navy, made at *Brest*, is to traffick into the *Levant*, as it is thought, for \_\_\_\_\_ and Salt Petre, and to bring other Merchandise from thence.

The saying is, that the Prince of *Portingale* shall marry with Madame *Margeret*, the King's Sister; and there is departed hence, to that Effect, sixteen Days past, into *Portingale*, a Gentleman of the Kings Chamber.

The first of *February* it was proclaimed,

1<sup>st</sup>, That all Strangers not inhabiting the Town of *Paris* Years before, should depart the Town.

2<sup>dly</sup>,

adly, That no Frenchman should go to assist the Protestants in Flanders; upon pain of Confiscation.

That the King of Spain doth swear all the Estate of Spain to the Prince his Son; and cometh out of hand into Italy with a great Force of Spaniards, besides his ordinary Train, and divers Gentlemen that upon Free-will come with him. He mindeth, as it is said, in the Beginning of May to be in Flanders.

### NEWS out of Flanders.

It is reported that the Protestant Party made a Masse of Men and Money, and did mind suddenly to have aided MONSIEUR; the which Thing coming to the Regents Understanding, Order was given to the Captains of the Garrisons to encounter with them before their Entry; who laying in Ambush for them some Leagues from Vaulenciens, suddenly assaulting them, did discomfit and kill to the Number of and upwards; taking of Bullein, with a Book wherein all their Names were written, that had contributed any Part of this Money.

Many minding to revolt, had Promise made them to be aided, Soldiers being sent unto them; they were the greatest Part of them either taken or killed before they approached near the City. The Captain of the Town demanding, in open Audience of the Citizens, whether they would receive the King's Garison, they required Respite to make Answer; but the Captain urging a final determinate Answer at that Instant, they answered they would receive the Garison but upon Conditions: The principal was, to have free Liberty to have the Gospel openly preached and professed. Whereupon, departing towards the Town, at the Sound of the Trumpet enter'd it; whereby the Citizens live in great Extremity and Bondage.

It is said that about Urtetch in Holland (where the Prince of Orange is) there are a good Number of Forces and Provision, which

A a a

should



should come into *Flanders* to the Aid of the Protestants; but the said Prince is gone to stay them, or else to do some other Enterprize.

The Count of *Egmond* hath lately used great Perswasions to the Protestants in *Flanders* to depose their Armies, and to shew themselves more obedient to their Prince than hitherto they have done; who, as they have well seen, hath not proceeded rigorously against them, but rather with great Favour and Lenity, and so will continue still, if they will submit themselves, and be contented to use no other Exercise of Religion than the Lawes of the Country doth permit. I doubt not but your Majesty is truly advertised of these Matters from thence, better than I am able to do from this Place, where nothing is reported but according to the Affections either of the one Party or of the other.

But surely I do both hear and perceive, by their own Side, that for lack of good Counsell and provident Order, they have brought themselves so far under Foot, as it is feared they shall be driven to harder Conditions than they will well like of; and to forego their Ministers without any Exercise of Religion.

Here is great Talk of a Truce to be had betwixt the Emperor and the Great Turk; the Truth as yet unknown.

The of *February* the Prince of *Orange* and the Count of were determined to meet at *Brussels*, with Resolution to take this Order for appeasing the Troubles, as followeth: That the Protestants should disperse their Forces, and banish away their Ministers; and that Liberty be given to live according to their Conscience, by what Day the King of *Spain* should be bound to assemble his Estates, for further Order to be taken therein.

The Town of *Valenciens* was besieged the 10th of *February*.

*Feb. 21.* Three Sorts of Religion at *Antwerp*; Calvinists, Martinists and Atheists.

The

The Emperers is brought to bed of a Daughter at *Vienna*.

*Sunday, April 27*, came *Hambleton* to speak with me.

*Monday* the 28th. I sent my Secretary to the Court to demand Audience, and in the mean Time *Monf. de* was sent from the King to visit *Sir Thomas Smith*, and to declare to him that the King's Pleasure was to give us Audience the 29th, which was the Day following.

1567. The Gift given was Gilt Plate by the King *Charles* and his Mother the Queen, the 10th *May* at *Paris*, at my Wife's going into *England*, 3 lb. 6 oz.

H. NORREYS,

M. NORREYS.

Anno 1566. The Lord *Darnley* was strangled, being then King of *Scotland*, and suffered the 10th of *February*, between two and three in the Morning.

Anno 1567. The Queen of *Scotts* married the vile *Bothwell* the 15th of *May*, being created Duke of *Orkney* the 12th of *May* 1567.

*April 27, 1567*. Came Master *Hambleton*, a *Scottish* Gentleman, to speak with me; and that Day I being at the *Spanish* Ambassador's, he told me that if the *French* had War with us, they should have it also; and how a longer Day for Payment should be demanded of our Queen, though Money were paid for the having of the same by the *French* forthwith.

*Monday 28*. Came *Monf. de Lansack* to *Sir Thomas Smith* and me, declaring that on the Day following we should have Audience.

*Tuesday 29*. We went to *St. Morres* for Audience, where having Denial of our Request for *Calais*, we returned; there being present at our Demand the King and his Mother, Monsieur and his younger Brother; the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Duke of *Montpelier*, the Duke of *Longueville*, the Constable, the Chancellor, the Secretary and others.

Wed-



*Wednesday 30.* I had word from the Ambassador of *Scotland's* Brother, that the *Lansgrave* is dead. The Duke of *Cleves* is also dead. The Duke *Frederick*, taken by Duke at the taking of *Cotta*; where, of several Thousand, there were not left alive but a few Hundred.

*May 2, 1567.* The Prince of *P* in *Paris* lay very sick, and in great Danger, as it was thought impoisoned.

*May 5.* At Night the Prince of *P* dyed of his Disease of a Pleurasy.

*May 8.* The King being on the Ascension-day at the Proceffion, coming from thence his Horse fell with him, and bruised his Foot.

*May 14.* The Duke of *Nemours* and his Wife; the Duke of *Guise*; the Cardinal of *Lorraine* and *Guise*; the Duke; Count all these be at the Duke of *Lorraine's* House.

The Duke of *Alva* came to *Genoa*.

*Monf. de Ferryers* is now Ambassador at *Venice*, and *Monf. de Foix* shall go to succeed him.

*May 15.* A Book sent to Monsieur the Admiral, called *A Summons to the Destruction of all the Protestants*.

*May 16.* There was one sent to me by the *Scottish* Ambassador, his Steward coming on the Message, for a Passport for one called *Martin*

*May 17.* Proclamation was made in *Paris*, that all *Flemings* and *Almains* shall avoid the Town.

*May 18.* In *Italy* they make great Preparations. ---- It is thought that betwixt them of *Italy*, the *Almaynes*, and them of the Regent of *Flanders*, that King *Phillip* shall have many Thousand Men, and Crowns; whereto the Pope giveth to King *Phillip* Fifty Thousand Crowns, and the Duke of *Florence* Ten Thousand monthly.

On *Whitsun-Eve*, May 17, 1567. The King coming to *Paris* with Intent the Morrow to have gone in a Proceffion, he departed that Day again back to *St. Maure de* much to the Miflike of the Papifts.

*Whitsunday*, 1567. M. de Morret came to me, to declare that he was going to meet the Duke of *Alva*, who, as he faid, had paffed *Piemont*.

May 17. Was *Percyvall*, Servant to the Earl of *Leycefter*, taken at *Diepe*, and the Queen's Majefty's Packet fent to the Court by the Captain of the Caftle, and he put into clofe Prifon.

May 20. Was *Monf. la Motte* fent to me, to excufe the intercepting and bringing the Packet to the Court; which being in a Box, as he fware in the Queen's Behalf, they were not feen.

May 25. Came *Percyvall* to *Paris* from *Diepe*, with my Letters from the Queen's Majefty and her Council, which were intercepted.

The fame Day the King made his Bastard Brother Knight of *Malta*, and *Grande Pryor de France*.

May 26. *Monf. La Motte* came to me, fent from the King, to affift at the Ceremonies of the Proceffion.

May 28. I had Audience touching the Count and being again requested to the Ceremonies by *Monf. La Motte* on the King's Behalf, I utterly denyed it. 1567 *La feſte dien ---- Corp. Chriſt. Day*.

May 29. I had Word from the Ambaffador of that there is coming an Ambaffador from the *Turk* to refide here; and that M. de *Foix* ſhall go to refide at *Constantinople*.

May 29. This Day came a Poſt from the Duke of *Savoy* to the King, whereupon the King fent with all Speed poſſible to levy Men in *Champaign*.



*May 30.* *Monf. de Foix* goeth to *Venice* shortly. Deliver'd to *Mr. Whight*, for my Cousin *William Knowlles*, four Letters, whereof three of them hath Money in them.

*June 7.* The Bell of *Nostre Dame* sounded, for the coming of the Pope's Nuncio, to perswade the *French King* to the Catholick Faith.

*Madrid, May 21.* It seemeth that now again the King *Phillip's* Journey into *Flanders* is published, and more ardently than before, since that also his Journey is appointed, the which shall be by the West Seas; and already there be Posts dispatched for the stay of Shippes to serve the King this Journey, which shall be as it is said in *September*, for in that Season those Seas have the Winds most favourable. The King is determin'd to bring his Son with him, and to leave his Wife here in *France*. It is said the Duke of *Alva* will not enter into *Flanders* before the King, being so required by the Regent.

*June 15, 1567.* The great Fear the *French* Protestants hath of is now in Hand.

*June 16.* They of the Town of *Paris* hath given to the King Three Hundred Thousand Franks; and the Priests and Spirituallitie Forty Thousand Crownes yearly, for to make an Edict that no Assembly nor Preaching shall be had in *Paris*, nor in the Bailiage thereof.

The Gallies that brought the Duke of *Alva* are this second time returned with a more Number of *Spaniards*, and are again speedily to return the third Time; to what End unknown.

It is thought that the coming of the Pope's Ambassador is to require the King to receive and accept the Council of *Trent*.

*June 19.* The *French King* lyeth at a Castle before where the Queen-Mother is sick.

The young *Clinton* being sent into *Spain*, he had his Packet cunningly stolen from him, and a Blank put in Place thereof; when (as they say) by the Sicknes of the King, he had of long Time no Audience.

June 21. Note

Young *Clinton* being watched in his Journey towards *Spain*, had not only his Packet intercepted, but one other like to that put in Place thereof; the Copys of which his Letters, wherewith he was charged, was sent to the Queen-Mother, whereby she might the better understand that her Practises were disclosed, which she took very ill.

June 24. Upon St. *John's* Day young Mr. *Clinton* mock'd, and otherwise made a Fray in *Paris*.

June 25. News came to me by the Lord that the Queen of *Scots* was taken; whereupon Word brought to the King, the Lord of *Murray* was speedily sent for hither; to what End not known.

June 26. *Percyvall* was apprehended for Debt, and taken out of his House. The Queen of *Scots* taken the 8th Day of June, Anno 1567.

July 1. It was brought me Intelligence by that the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, the Constable, and *Dandelot*, being with the King and Queen, went about to win cunningly the Lord of *Murray* to be of their Faction, towards their getting the Prince and his Mother into their Tuition, as already I have advertised of.

July 2. *Barnaby*, as he said, lost his Letter out of his Pocket, and found it in his own Mail; accusing me to be Author thereof, or others to do it to please me withal. ---- The same Day I had my Audience at *St. Germains, en laye*, touching Count Sir *Robert Stafford*, and the Prisoners of being again summon'd to his Councill. ---- Word came of the Death of the *Scottish* Queen to the *French*.

July



July 3. There came Word, which was brought by *Myngay*, that the Earl of *Argyle*, the *Hambletons*, *Huntley*, *Bodwell*, the Earl of *Atholl*, and them of *Maxwell*, do all ply their Forces to the redeeming the Queen of *Scots* out of Prison.

The Duke of *Alva* was the 3d of *July* in *Savoy*, at a Town called *Chamberry*.

They who took the Queen Prisoner the 8th Day of *June* were,

The Earl of <i>Morton</i> ,	The Earl of <i>Crawford</i> ,
The Earl of	The Lord      Capt. of Horse,
The L. of <i>Linzey</i> ,	The L. R
The L. of <i>Hume</i> .	

July 3, 1567. Came *Lydyngton*, who said that *Bodwell*, for certain, was taken Prisoner; which News came to *France* that Day the Prince came to *St. Germaines en laye* to the Court.

July 4. *Barnaby* came to my Chamber at                      desiring me, that, considering his Sicknes with which he was then troubled, which was as he thought the Black Jaundice, I would grant him my Good-will to return again into *England*.

*The ARTICLES sent by the Chauncelor, the 2d of October, from the Prince of Conde and the Admirall.*

- I. **T**HAT the Prince of *Conde* should have the Governement of the King duringe his Minoritie,
- II. That all Princes, Strangers shall avoid the Realme.
- III, That the Queen-Mother shall returne to hir Dowrey, and yelde Accompte of the Revenues of the Realm and Crown, since the Daye of her Gouvernment.

IV. That

- IV. That the People of *France* shal be eased of all Subsidies and Taxes.
- V. That the Towns of *Calleis* and *Mettz* may be yelded into their Hands, with the Duchey of *Normandy*.
- VI. That the Marshall *Memorancy* may have the Place of Grand Master of *France*, and the Stafe to be takin from the young Duke of *Guize*.
- VII. That Monf. *de Longefelde* may be Grand Chamberleine of *France*.
- VIII. That all Straungers may avoid this Realm, namely, *Italiens* and *Suiffes*.
- IX. That Preaching and Liberty of Conscience may be through the whole Realme of *France*.
- X. That, for the Confirmacion of these Articles, Monsieur the King's Brother may be deliver'd into their Hands, as an Ostage.

O<sup>r</sup>. 3, 1567. Monsieur *Memorancy* gone to the Prince at The Protestants take the *Pont de Chalancon*.

The Chauncelor went to the Prince, and after him the Constable.

That Monfr. is takin by the Protestants in *Valence* and *Vioma*, being uppon the River of *Roan*.

O<sup>r</sup>. 1, being Sunday. Came Monf. *de la Mote* to me from the Kinge, to advertize me that it was declared to his Majestie that my Secretary *Barnaby* was seene in the Prince's Campe the Day before, who was not with me since the 5th of *September*.

That same Day the Kinge made an Oracion to the States, that it was not unknown to them the Intent of his cominge hether from *Nantz*, and yet, for avoyding of Blodshed, he had sent his Chauncelor twise to them, and the Marshall of *Fraunce*, to offer such reasonable Condictions as Subjects shulde be content withall, which they



have refused; wherefore he desired them that he might find that faithfull Succor in them, which his Predecessors aforetime dyd, for he wolde not faile to gyve them Bateile.

*Off.* 6. Went Monf. *de Motry*, accompanied with 400 Horsemen, to ranconter the Marshall *Strofe*, and after him the Admirall, with 600, to ayde Monf. *de Motry*.

*Off.* 7. Came Monf. *de la Mote* to excuse that the King hadd sayd that *Barnabey* had bene with the Prince of *Condy*, being the Ambassador of *France's* Nephew; and sayd that the King dyd so desire the Queen my Mistres Frindshipec, as he hade rether breke with K. P. then with her at this Day: This Day, the King sent an Herault and a Trompette, to Saint *Denis*, to Monfr. Le Prince, to let it to be knowin to all them that be with him; that they should leave off there Armes and come to him, otherwise they shuld be proclaimed Rebelles, ther Goods confiscated and ther Posteritie undone forever. ---- The Herault returned that Night, and browght this Answer to the King, that beinge browght to the Prince and the Cardinall *Chastillion* (Monfr. the Admirall being gone to meet *La Strofe*) That if he hade any thing to saye, to chide ther Honour, that he shulde take good hede to speake that, for otherwise they wolde hange him; so that without heringe his Messagge, because of the Admirall's absence, he shulde returne the Morning followinge, without his Cote Armour.----

*Off.* 8. A Proclamacion was made that all that would come to the King from the Prince, shulde be receved to Mercy, or els to be accounted as Rebells, &c.

*Off.* 9th. Was the Constable sent to St. *Denis* to treat for Peace, from whence he came in goode Hope of goode Successe.

*Off.* 10. He went again and browght Worde to them that were at St. *Denis*, that if agreement culde not be made, then to gyve them Desfiaunce.

*Off.*

Oct. 11. The Ambaffador of Spaine Secretary tolde me, that all the Passages to *Normandy* and that ways, and into *Spain*, all the Couriers were taken and stayed.

That the Prince is pofessed of *Botelley*, *St. Espritt*, *de Rue* & *Ducland*.

*A PROCLAMATION made the 7th of October, 1567, against the Prince of Conde, the Admiral, &c.*

THAT it be not lawfull to any, but to us onely, to make any Assemblée in our Realme, nor oute of the same of Men of Armes, or otherwise, to make any Convocation of People, Levynge of Money, Proclamacons, publicacons of Lies, and Papers, concerning the State of our Realme, and Obedience due to our Sovereign Majestie, only not comunicable to other of our Subjects, in what Estate or Dignitie they be; which can, nor ought to obey to others then to us, chiefly they which dothe approche to us in Blod, and holde the principale Estates of our said Realme, being bounde by Othe expresse, to aide and succore us againste all others without any Excepcon, wherefore beinge advertized of the Assemblée that is in armes at Saynt *Deyne's* and other Places thereabouts, whereof they say is the Prince of *Conde*, the Cardinall *Chaftillion*, the Admirall, *Dandilot*, *De la Roche Foucautt*, *de Genliz*, *de Cleremount*, *Domboys de Sanlix de Bon Cart*, *de Bouchavannes*, *de Pignigni*, *de Lazy*, *de St. Phall*, *Mony*, *de Serney*, *Counte de Mongomnery Vidam*, *de Charters*, and theis to be the Cheife and Principall Conductors, whereof we could not be perswaded till this presente, but contrary we have looked for at their Hands, all Fidelitie, Loyaltie, Subjection, and Obedience. We have commaunded and ordeyned by the chiefe of our Heraults of Armes, willed theirto, that he doe sommon and call



call upon all the aforesaid, as well, Lords, Gentlemen Officers, of what Qualitie or Condition they be, beyng with them that hath brought theym Forces and dothe occupie our Townes, and makes Companies of Souldiers at their Pleasures, That they doe presently, at this onlie and single Comaundement, come to us without Armes and render to us the Obedience comaunded and ordeyned, from God, by whose Grace we doe raigne, and have byn ordeyned and constituted Kinge over them, or ells to declare forthwith yf they doe entende to make good such synister and evell Enterprize, and to avowe the foresaid Assemblies, which they have made, and make in Armes, to the utter Oppression of our Subjects, the dispising and contempnyng of our Authoritie and Dignitie, and likewise the Proclamacons which they have made by Writinge, as well signed as unsigned, with Colour and Pretexte of a pretended Common-Wealth.

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*The most humble Request made by the Cardinall Chastillon, the Counte Rochefaucault, and Sir De Bovanet, who requesteth most humbly the Kinge, in the Name and Behalfe of the Prince of Conde and his Company.*

First, They requyer and beseeche most humbly upon the first Article, beginning

1. **T**HE Kinge accordithe, &c. --- That may it please his Majesty whereby to take away all Dowts, to declare that the Edict of Pacifications of the 6th of Marche, 1563, shall be executyd in all Points and Articles, in suche Places as it hath not bin executyd according to the first Forme and Teneur, and for the execution of the said Edict, they beseech his Majestie to have Regard

to

to *Provence*, and that his Subjects of that Countrey, be handelyd as they in his other Provinces.

2. That certain Places of certain Ballages, where the Exercise of Religion is permittyd, that be farre off, may be browght neare, and chargid to Places more commodius, for the Easment of them of the said Place.

3. They doo also beseache, most humbly, that yt may please the King to avowe and declare them for his good and loyal Subjects and Servants; putting, conserving and keeping them under his Protection, and all ther Goods, Honoures, Estates, Charges, Offices and Dignities, of what Qualitey they be.

4. And that it please his Majestie, for the respecte of Things to come, he will kepe such Warrantees, ---- as are conteyned in the first Edict of Pacification, good and vailable, and them of his Grace and Bounte to extend to the Daye of publication of this present Edicte, notwithstandinge the Decrees, and Arrestes, and as it is conteyned by the first Edict of Pacification.

His Majestie may be advised, yf he shall thinke yt soe good, that the Princes and Lordes of his Privie Counsayle, Governours of his Provinces, and Officers of his Crowne, do promysse by the Commandement of his Majesty th'Entertainment and Observacon of the sayd Edict, it should seme to be a very good Meanes to bring noe more into Trobles.

And that it may please his Majestie to devize to geve them some good Meanes to have Justice, afre the ending of theis present Trobles; and the remembrance of them be not preiudiciall in their Proceffe and Affayres, to which End they beseche that in the said Edict which shall be made, theis Wordes may be put in, *jusque ce qu'il ayt pleu a Dieu reunir nos Subjettes en une Religion.*

And for as muche as under the Word of *Exercise de la Religion*, is comprehended the Acts necessare to the Administracon of the same,

as Prechings, Administracon of the Sacrament, Schools in what Places as the said Exercise shall be established; Consistorys and Conservances of Mynisters, for the Exercise of Learning onlie; when yt shall please his Majestie, some of his Officers shall be present.

5. They doe beseeche the King to provide as well agaynst Governours of Provinces, Courtes of Parliament as other Judges, that they be not for any of the said Acts and Exercises unquieted or molested; and to geve them some Writinge in suche Manner and Forme as it shall please his said Majestie, that from henceforth in doyinge of them noe Man may reproche them to have gon agaynst the said Edict; the which Act so written, shall not be otherwise set forth nor printed.

6. That it please the Kinge for the setting forth of the said Edict or Wrytt, that he cause it to be under secrett Regester, and that the Procurer of the King be consenting therto.

And for the Regard of other Articles, concernyng the Entention of the King, of that they have to doe of their Parte, aftr the publicacon of the said Edict, in the Courte of Parliament of *Paris*, they have declared themselves redie to disarme them, soe soon as the said Edict shall be published in the said Parliament of *Paris*, and sent unto them. At which Time their *Biscayards* and *Alemayns* shall retyer them out of the Realme of *Fraunce*.



*A Copie of such SPEACHES as Sir Amyas Paulet delivered to the French King and Quenes, at his departing; as likewise the SPEACHES of Sir Henrie Cobham, at his admittance to the said Kinge, for Ambassador Leggier, delivered at Paris in the Louvre, the 17th of November, 1579.*

*In a LETTER to the QUEEN'S MAJESTY.*

**I**T maye please your most excellent Majestie, to be advertised that followinge the Example of Tyme past, uppon lyke occasion occuringe, Quene Mother arryvinge hear the 14th of this present, I could not faile to shew my Rediness, to congratulate her safe retourne; and to that Pourpose prayed Audience; gyvinge also to understand to Monsr. *de Gondy*, by my Messenger, that Sir *Henry Cobham* was arryved, and did lykewise desire to be presented to the Kinge and Quene Mother, at their convenient Leasure.

Uppon Motion made herof unto the Kinge, I receaved Answer by *Gondy*, that the Kinge made diference bytween th'Ambassadors-- of your Majestie and th'Ambassadors-- of other Princes; and beinge willinge to mak some Demonstracon therof, did entend to gyve Audience the next Day, beinge the 15th of this present, to other Ambassadors newly arryved; and shortly after, would admit us to his Presence, wherein we should heare from him within a Day or two.

The 16th, *Gondy* comyth unto us, sent from the Kinge, to enforme us that his Majestie was minded to give us Audience the next Daye; and that the grand Pryor *de Champaigne*, otherwise called Chevalier *de* and *La Mothe Fenelon*, should conduct as to the Court, wheare our Dynner should be prepared at the Table of the great Master, the D. of *Guise*; we could have ben contented to have

have changed our Host, for some meaner and more frendly Personage, but we durst not be so hardie as to disobey the King's Commandment; and it was some Satisfaction unto us, that we dyned at the King's Table, and with his great Master, withowt Regard to his private Name or personal Affection.

Repairinge to the Courte at the Tyme appointed, and accompanied by thes said Gentlemen, after Dynner ended, we were conveyed to the King's Prefence; wher I *Amias Paulet* declared unto his Majestie, that beinge lycensed by your Highnes to retourne into my native Contry, I thowght myself verye happie, that havinge fownd, at my first arryvall heare, not only good Peace, but also perfect Amytie bytween thes two Crownes; the same was nothing diminished duringe this Tyme of my Service; but rather went forward with Encrease, to the unspeakable Comfort of the Subjects of both the Realmes, and to the Terror of their Enymes.

Yt it was not to be doubted but that the good Offices of good Ministers did serve to great Pourpose, to enterteyne good Correspondency bytween Princes, and yet wher they have donne their best Endevor, somtymes Warr and Hostilities have ensued; the Slander and Blame wherof lyteth comonly uppon the Shoulders of the Ambasrs. and therefore besides the Respectes of the Generall, I esteemed the Contynuance of this good Intelligence bytween your Majesties, as a single Benefit to myself in particular. Desiring nothing more than to conserve Amytie, Concord and natural Entercourse bytween the Sovereignes of both the Realmes, accordinge to the Treaties agreed and ended; and your Majestie uppon these Pourposes had made Choise of this Gentleman, Sir *Henry Cobham*, who beinge descended of noble Parentage, had served your Majestie faithfully many Yeres, and in sondry Charges of great Importance, and was well qualified to do the Duetie of his Callinge, to succede me, and reside your Majestie's Ambasr. nere his Personne; and as he wold not faile to do all good Offices, to cherishe good Amytie by-

tween



twen thes two Crownes; so I dowbted not but that he shold find in his Majestie a Correspondencie answerable to your Highnes good Inclinacon and therefore did assure myself that God wold blefs thes two Realmes, with long contynuanee of Peace, to his Glory, to the Honour of your Majesties, and to the Profit and Comfort of your Subjects.

The Kinge made great Demonstracon, with many Wordes of his good Affection towards your Majestie, of his confident Opinion of your unfeigned Friendshipec towards him, of his great Desire to see the accomplishment of this Mariage between your Highnes and his Brother; of the resolute Constancie of his said Brother, to prosecute the same with all Earnestnes; and last, of his good acceptatione of my Doings, duringe my Service heare.

Sir *Henry Cobham*,

Then I *Cobham*, after thus much had passed, by Sir *Amias* my Predecessor, did in humble manner present myselfe to the Kinge, deliveringe from your Majestie, some Salutacons of kissinge of Handes, with the Desire of his long and healthfull Lief; and therewithal gyving your Lettre of Credence, I did beginne to enforme his Christiane Majestie, how that yt semeth yt had ben the laudable and ancient Custome of the Kinges of *England*, to have their Ambassadors Leggiere attendyng on the Kinge of *Fraunce*. --- With this royall Intencon, for to entertayne the mutual Amytie, as also to clear the Suspicioness, and to take away the Dowbtes, which otherwise, without good and mutual Intelligence might happen. So as these Proceedinges, being thus contynued, throughe the Meanes of well qualified and disposed Ambassadors, not only the Friendshipec bytween the Princes is mentayned and renewed, but also Treaties and Convencons of Peace are conserved intier and inviolated, in such fort as the Subjects of both your Realmes, freely and willingly



do Trade; helpinge themselves with their Merchandize, to the great Satisfaction of both Nations.

That it was not your Highnesses Meaninge only to contynue and bring to Effecte thus muche, but your Highnes hathe ben moued and perswaded by a certain private unaccoustomed Princely Affection towards his Majestie, to make a Choise of an Ambassador which might be suche a Personne, as knowinge your earnest Intention, should by all Services and great Care, preserve entierlye, and renew his Princely Good-will towards you. assuringe him in lyke sorte that your Inclinatione and Determinacon was to shew muche Gratefulness to his Majestie and all his, rather more now than hertofore.

As also that the vertious Disposition of his Christiane Majestie, beinge now made knowne to the Worlde, throughe the Shew of his present peaceable Government (as a pitifull Kinge and Father of his People) throwghe which Dealing, he had not only won unto him the Hartes of his own Subjectes, but thereby did encrease in your Majestie, and in all other Princes, a singler Opinion, in such fort as his Majestie by his Proceedinges, was now thorowghly accompanied with great good Fortune and Prosperitie. Moreover I shewed how your Highnes, for to accomlishe with his swete and gracious Government, had streightly charged me to serve him with all Dutie, interteyning carefullye the Confederatione and entier Amytie. And since that his Majestie, by thes few Wordes, had understoode as well the Occasions, whereon your Highnes was moued to adresse me towards him, as also of your Mind and Comandement, uppon the which I had ben willed to obey him at his good Pleasure, I hoped he would now receave me into his Protection, as one at his Comandement, beseechinge his Majestie to mak me knowe and understand wherein I may doe the Deutie towards him, which was comytted unto me.

Then

Then the Kinge sayed, I have fownd the Quene, by many good Effectes, my good Frend and Sister, in suche sorte as by no Cause or Tyme, I maye let passe to remember yt, consideringe she hathe so well observed suche Treaties as have passed bytween us, and for shewinge likewise her self thus carefull for my Estate. On his part, he woulde not leave unperformed the lyk Amytie, with any Prince you shoulde be pleased to command, havinge the same Desire for the Entrecourse of his Subjects, which you had, and would put his Hand to the contynuaunce thereof. His Majestie said, how he receaved Contentatione, that your Highnes lyked of his Government, declaringe that he pourposed to contynue, and to passe all Thinges agreable therunto. Assuringe me your Ambassadors have ben welcomed to him, of what Qualitie or Degree soever they were of, beinge your Majesties Ministers; and that I should for myne own part, find my Enterteynment to be no les then others: Assuringe me he would make yt his Busines, to favor me in my Negotiations for your Majestie, to my Contentatione, with many more especiall favourable Wordes. I replied, that your Majestie wold be glad to heare he had that good Healthe, which I did perceave to be in his cherefull Countenance, and shold be well pleased to understand his Majesties Mynde was bent so affectionatly towards you, especially in takinge in so good Part your Highnes Intentions of Amytie. Lastly, his Majestie sayed, he had shewed his Good-will for to have all Causes pass agreeable to your Minde, beinge sorrye ther is no better Occasion offered, wherin he might utter the Desire he hathe to deserve your Care of him and his Estate: But trusted that God shall in some Tyme give him Meanes to mak you know his Meaninge, and how much he is yours; as also he wold let me understande of those Causes which may concerne your Highnes and your Realme; and therwith againe sayed, I was welcomed to him, bestowing some more favorable Speeches towards myself. So I departed from his Majestie.

Sir



Sir *Amias P.* with the *Quene Mother.*

Having thence ended with the Kinge, we weare conveyed by the *Chevalier de* and *La Mothe Fenelon*, to the Presence of the Quene Mother, whom we fownd accompanied with the *French Quene*; at which Tyme I declared unto the Q. Mother, that I dowbted not but her arryval in this Court, was the singler Comfort of the Kinge her Sonne, and of all other depending uppon him, of all Estates and Degrees; and did assure myself that they rejoiced greatly to have this Opportunitye to acknowledge, by Worde of Mouthe, how muche they thowght themselves bownd unto her for the great Paines and daingerous Trauailles which she hathe susteyned of late, for the Weal and Quiet of this Contrye: And especialy that yt had pleased God to blefs all her Actions and Doinges; as she had donne greter Things, by her bare Word, then could have ben donne, perchance, by some other, with a mightie Armie: And as it was most reasonable that the Kinge showld acknowledge this Debt with all Thankfulness; so yt was no lesse reasonable, that all the Subjectes of this Realme, as well of th'one, as those of the other Religion, should acknowledge with open Mouth, to hold a great part of their Quiet and happie Peace of her Wisdome, Goodnes and Favour. But I prayed her to beleave that no Prince or Princeffe in this World, did receave greater Contentment of her saef arryvall in this Court, of her happie Successe in her Proceedinges, and of her good Disposition of Healthe then your Highnes, as one that wished unto her all Honour and Felicitie. I sayed yt was not to be denied but that your Majestie was greatly beholdinge unto her, in that she had gyven her Assent unto her Sonne, to visit you in your Countrie, which could not be donne withowt many dangerous Perills, wherin she had made very good Profe of her good Affection towards you. And touchinge the Duke her sonne, he had given suche playne Testimonie of his singler Good-will, in that  
for-



getting his owne Greatnes, and withowt Respect to the Hassardes of the Sea or Land, he had passed into *England*, as your Majestie cowld not escape the Note of Ingratitude, if ye did not set him in the first Ranck of those which you esteimed most.

Lastly, I enformed her of Sir *Henry Cobham*, to lyke Effect as before, unto the Kinge.

She cowld not say anowghe of her assured Opinion, of your frendly Good-will towards her, saying, that she had fownd long sithence that you esteimed of her not only as of a good Neighbour, but also as of a lovinge Sister. She spared no Wordes to utter her earnest lyking of this intended Marriage; lamentinge her Unhappines that she was not put to have accompanied her Sonne in his Journey into *England*. She toke uppon her to answer for the lyke Sinceritie in both her Sonnes towards this Marriage, and not dowbringe to see the performance thereof; after some Discourse of the singler Comodities lykely to ensue to both thes Realmes, and after many good Wordes touching my self, she prayed Sir *Henry Cobham* to draw ner unto her.

Sir *Henry Cobham* with the Queen Mother,

We being as it hath ben declared, browght to the Prefence of the Q. Mother, after the Speeches and Conference of Sir *Amyas P.* were finished, I passed nygher to the Quene, doinge my humble Duetie, first usinge some Wordes of Courtesie from your Highnes, shewing that your earnest Desire was to be held in her good Grace, with your zealous Wisshes of her long and prosperous Lyef; wherewith I gave into her Handes your Majesties Lettre of Credence, the which after she had redd, I did then let the Quene know that wheras your Pleasure nowe had ben to appoint me for to reside abowt the Christian Kinge her Sonne, to the Intent to contynue the Amytie and renew the mutuall Affection; You also had especially comand-ed me to offer my Service unto her Majestie, and to declare from

F f f

your

your Highnes, that her Princely Meaninge, and especiall Effectes of Frendship, of so long Tyme begonne towards you, did move your Majestie to have great remembrance of her. But now the rather since the Cause and Affairs of Monseignour, her dear Sonne, had ben lately so farre forth advanced with such apparant Demonstracons of Affectcon, that your Majestie had thereof conceived suche Feelinge as you wold endeavor, by all your Princely Meanes to signifie clerly to her and hers, and so to the World, in what Estimation you held the Amytie of *France*, intending to have yt contynued, establisshed and put on Foote, by such Meanes as at best, by honourable Advise might be devised, hoping herin that her Majestie wold contynew thes great Affaires with lyk Sinceritie, and thoroughly answer your Highnes Intencons. The which by no better Meanes she might assure her Majestie, then by enterteyninge the peaceable Government of her Sonne, your deare Brother, wherein indede she had taken so muche extraordynarie Traueil, as that more might not be desired, wherby nowe both she and the Christian Kinge remeined in singler good Opinion with all Princes their Confederates. As also thorough his gracious Dealinge, they did find themselves accompanied with muche Prosperitie, to their high Glory. Therefore that your Majesties Subjects might have the better Feelinge of this their quiet and just Government, my humble Suyt was, she wold vouchesafe to graunt me, at her convenient Leasure, accessse to intreat for those *Englishe* Merchantes and Vassals, of the Q. my Mistres, which had susteyned some Injuries and Depredacons, hoping thereon she will procur Ordre for Redresse, according to her princely Manner and godly Confidence; and also that she would receave me into her good Grace as a Servant of your Majesties, to be disposed on, at her good Pleasure.

Q. Mother's

*Q. Mother's Answer.*

Her Majestie then sayed both she and her Sonnes have received great Contentacon to do any Thing that maye be agreable to the Q. of *England*, and th'Affection her Sonne the D. of *Alençon* hath shewed to your Highnes, is so well employed, as for her owne Part, she did desire the good Successe therof before the contynuance of her owne Lyef; farther that the Service and Traveile he hath taken, cannot deserve the greate Happe which shall come to him and all his, if after the seekinge of so manye, his luckye Chaunce maye be to enjoye a Ladie of so great a Qualite and Worthines. And now that she and the Kinge weare in hope of your Favour and Grace towards her Sonne the Duke; since ther canne no farther Triall be made, notwithstandinge she will not diswade her Sonne, Monfr. but that he shall attend on your Pleasure, unto whome she ment shortly to goe. And as for the Care your Majestie hath showed, for the Repose of the Realme of *Fraunce*, she findith her self more beholding unto you then to any other. Because your Advise hath been alwaies to mainteine the Quiet, and the princely Assistance which you have given ---- can never be forgotten. As for anye accessse to negotiate for your Majesties Causes, or the private Compleintes of your Subjectes, I should have yt at any convenient Tyme, assuringe myselfe, in respect of your Majesties good Report, in your Lettres of me, as also for the Qualitie of the Embassye, I should be had in consideraçon, and be comended to her, with other Wordes of Favour.

Sir *Amias Paulet*,

This was th'Effect of that, which passed bytween the Quene Mother and us. And then I *Amias Paulet*, drawinge nere unto the Frenche Quene saied unto her, that althoughe I was not so happie to have seene her of longe Tyme, yet I had not failed to enquier  
diligently



diligently of her Health, bycause I knew th'Advertisement thereof wold be alweis acceptable unto your Majestie ; I told her that at my arrival here, I thought myself happie, in that I founde thes two Crownes united in good Amitie, and did now think myself more happie in that beinge licensed by your Majestie to retorne into *England*, I left this Amitie greatly encreased, and in great lyklyhood to attaine his full and hieft Perfection, for the Performance wherof this Gentleman, Sir *Henrie Cobham*, was sent to succede me, not dowbtinge but that for his good Inclination, to nourishe Amitie between your Majestie and the Kinge her Husband, and for his other laudable Qualities, he showld be agreeable unto her.

Sir *Henry Cobham* to the yonge Quene.

Then I tourned myself to the yonge Quene, whom I fownd standinge hard by the Q. Mother, usinge unto her some Complementes, deliveringe therwith your Majesties Lettre, and shewed her your highe Pleasure was, I should beseeche her to be the good Meanes unto the Christian Kinge, her dear Husband, that the sincer Amitie might be the better, by her gracious Meditatione, preserved and continued, wherby she should make your Majestie have feelinge of that her singler Goodnes, wherof she hath great Fame, in this Contrie and els where : Assuringe her that your Highnes desired for to make your Good-will knowne, by all manner of Meanes yt might please her to make profe therof.

*First*, The yonge Quene enquired, as she did open your Lettre, If your Highnes had your Health, I sayed well, God be thanked. And to my Speaches the yonge Quene answered, How she wolde not fail to enterteine the Amytie of the Q. of *England*, the which she fownd her Husband held so deare, as also for the Respect of the good remembrance which you shewed to have of her, she wold not leave to do any good Offices. I then sayed farther, that your  
Majestie

Majestie had comanded me to advertise yow from Tyme to Tyme of her good Health. She wished good Health and Happines unto you.

After thus much was passed, we departed from the Quenes, whom we had found accompanied with the Daughter of the Duke of *Loreyne*, standinge a little beside the yonge Quene, against the Wall adjoyninge to the Beddes-head of Quene Mother. The Princes *Douagier* of *Condy* and the Dutches *de Nemoures*, Mother to the Duke of *Guise*, both of them sittinge on Queene Mothers Beddes Feete; the yonge Queenes Sister, and the Dutches of *Guise*, standinge before them, the rest of the Ladies kept other Places, somewhat farther of.

The Kinge was apparelled that Daye, with greene Cloathe of Tissue, his Doublett of black Velvet, with the Crosse therof of his new Ordre, called *St. Esprit*.

He maketh some Preparation to hold his Feast on New-Yeres-Day, of this new Brotherhod of *de St. Esprit*.

The Quene Mother went out of *Paris* the 19th Daye in the Afternoon, beinge lodged the same Night ---- at the Marehall of his Howse, and so goeth forward towards *Dreux*, in *Normandie*, wher Monfr. is thought will meet her at about 8 Legues from *Dreux*.

She took, as I am enformed, with her 25000 Crownes to deliver him, with Promises of rytcher Somes; for that one of Monfrs. Allegations of Excuse of Absence, by Monfr. *Varvaches*, the 16th of this present, was lack of Money. An other Request of his ys, To be the Kinges Lieutenant Generall, which yt he stick for his cominge will not be soone looked for in this Courte. Quene Mother, this Week, hath broiled and stickeld amongst those of the Finances and Receipts, for the Recovery of Moneye.

The Imprisonment of                      hath troubled Monfrs Freendes  
and Servants; ---- for that it is doughted he hath donne some great  
Excesse and Trecherie; or els Monfr. would not have caused him  
to have ben apprehended.

Monfr. *de*                      to whom I delivered your Highnes Lettre,  
was informed that                      had discouered to the Kinge,  
somewhat which passed in *England*, being then trusted to wryte Let-  
tres for Monfr.

The Duke of *Guise* at the End of this Sommer, had fram-  
ed a Practise for the Surprife of *Strasbourg*, which beinge discou-  
red was not performed. Some of the Companes are disperfed, and  
the rest are retired towardes *Borgondy*.

The Kinge of *Spaine* hathe ben verye dangerously sicke of a Quin-  
sey in the Throate, but is well recovered therof, and nowe is  
troubled with the Goute in one of his Handes.

Thus th'Almightie preserve your Majestie in longe Lyef.

Subscribed,

*Your Highnes humble Subjects*

*and faytbeful Servantes,*

AMYAS PAULET,

HENRY COBHAM.



LETTERS *from Sir Henry Cobham, the Ambassador  
to Lord Chamberlain Suffex.*

WHEREAS my Lord, in the Year passed, it was my Cousine *John Woottenes* harde Happe to be in Company with a Gentleman, which had some Quarrel with another, whereon there chaunced a Fraye, and therein a servinge Man receaved his Deathes Wounde, so as uppon the Streighte Poynte in Lawe, he mighte have ben called in Questone, therefore he was constrayned throughe that Mischaunce to absent himself. But now, since the Parties offended be agreed with, and all Matters concerninge that Facte well satisfied and appeased, he is mooste desyrous to have her Majesties good Opinyone, and to be restored unto her Grace, by your honourable Meanes, to whom he wold alltogether bynde himself--- Wherefore I besech your Lordship, that you will vouchsafe to move her Majestie, in such sort as you shall thinke best, for the perfectinge of this his chiefeft Desyre, so as thereby you shall restore him to all Happyness, and I for his Sake bounde, to serve your Comaundements and Pleasure in all that I may; praying, &c.

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*To Sir Christopher Hatton.*

YOUR Servant *Pyne*, Righte Honourable Sir, did bringe me your Letters this Daye, wherin it semeth you have meaninge that your nigheft Kynseman shold repayre hither, the rather to be endued with the Languages, and such other Partes, as may be usefull to him, and enable to serve his Prince and Countrey, in some suche sorte as that you will leave to your Estate a yonge Man growinge of your plantinge, which may springe up in some principall Place  
of

of your owne settinge fourth and nourishinge, therby honouringe your Familye, wherein yf I may serve you to any Purpose, shall be gladde therof, and will not fayle to deale with that Mynde and manner towarde him, as you may think expedient and necessarye for his goinge forward and well being ---- Your Honour vouchesafeth to Comforte me with the Significatione that it pleaseth her Majestie to accept of my Service, which indede is no other then a simple following, and a clear obeyeng of her Commandements, wher unto I have dedicated my self and my Yeares, as it hath ben of longe Tyme knowne to you; the which my Service, I hope, shal be the better employed, being with your favourable Speeches, recommended with that honourable heartie manner, it liketh you sometime to bestowe, on suche as you will bynde unto you. And surely I sholde be right gladde I mighte make that Accompte of your Honour as I have done heartofore; and should thinke myself well furnished and defended from Misfortunes, yf I colde enjoye the same; your Love I sometime, in my owne Opinyone possessed, wherof I have more Nede than ever. You shall shew to have me in your good Grace, yf you will be pleased to take Care of me, and to have felinge of my Trauailes, and franckelie to let me knowe wherein I may content your Lykings, &c. God have you in his keeping, as prayeth your much bounden, &c.

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*To Mr. Secretarye Willfone.*

**I** Doe conceave how it hath pleased your Honour to have some Felinge of my Travailes, and Yeares spent in her Majesties Service, towarde the recompense wherof, I hope you will vouchesalf to bestowe your honourable Speeches in my behalf, and become my happye Mediator to my Sovereigne, wherein you shall doe the Good whych I and myne cannot forgett. And to the Intent you may

may she rather be encouraged to speak in my Favor unto her Highnes, I will trulie and briefely declare my Case, and therewithall shew you the Qualitye of my Suite. *Fyrste*, In my tendrest Age it pleased God, that my Father did dedicate me to her Highnes, and because (during Queene *Maryes* Reigne) he durste not prefere me into her Highnes Housholde Service; my carefull Father sent me to the Earle of *Devonshire*, wherby I might be in place to her lykinge ---- from thence I retourned as soone as God had blessed her with this Crowne, and was accepted into her Majesties Service, seruinge in the Roome of a Pensioner, wherin I sticked and stayed, havinge no other greater Meanes in her Highnes Courte, or Common Wealthe, whereby the Credite her Majestie hath bestowed on me, (by employeng me to the Emperour, to the Duke of *Alva* into *Flaunders*, to the *Spanishe* Kynge, and now lastelie to the *French* Kynge) may be susteinid and endured; havinge not onlye solde that whych her Majestie had gyven me, but allso certaine Portions of my owne livinge --- In this State I have passed, and now fynde my self. It liked her Majestie, at my laste being in *Spayne*, to graunt me the Office of the Marshalsea, being then become voyde uppon the Death of my Cousine, *Richard Verney*, and now before my cominge, she was pleased to graunte me an Office in the Chauncelrye; the whych was allso thought fyttter for others, to my Discomforte; and since my entraunce into this Place, I have spent of myne owne, empouerishinge my Estate, entringe into my farder Years and great charge.

As for my Suyte, *Fyrst*, Mr. *Date* moved her Majestie therein almost two Yeares passed, the Cowrte being then at *Wyndfore*; and since I have delt therof with her Majestie; havinge receaved some Hope untill my cominge awaye; wheras her Majesties will was to deferr me, I truste for my greater Good, and a more large Favor graunted at home by your Mediatione.

H h h

The



The Farmes are in my Native Countrey, not farre from my House. --- The firste which is the Parsonnage of *Southfleete*, was gyven in lease to *George Cobbam* my Brother, by Kynge *Edwarde*, servinge then Mr. *Cbeek*, whych he solde since in her Majesties Service to one of the Exchequire, it hathe not above 20 Acres of Land belonginge to it, but standeth on the Casualties of Tythes. The seconde is the Mannor of *Temple Darteford*, within a Mile of my Dwellinge; and of longe it hath belonged to the House wher I dwell, servinge for Provisiōe, for the which havinge disboursed parte of my Money for the Lease, before my goinge into *Spaine*, (for that the rest was not in my absence paid) I went without the Lease, and another boughte it. Ther is no House nor Barne belonginge to it, nether Wood nor Underwood, and for that the one may helpe me to Bread and Drynke, and the other, some Fedinge for my Familye: I humblie besech her Majesty to bestowe on me, those two in fee Farmes, wherby ther maye remayne some Memorye and Relief to my Posteritie of her Highnes Graces; meaning to bring them up, yf it please God in sorte, as they may deserve well of her. The other two Farmes I referr to her Highnes owne Motion, to bestowe in Lease or otherwise, as she is moved in Hearte to do for me, and to settle me in my Countrey, wherby after all my Travailes, I may enjoy some Ease of my Mynde. It may be remembred that in breakinge the Enterprise of *Stukelies* Pretence toward *Ireland*, my Service therin, saved, in her Highnes Purse, 20 tymes the Value of this Demaund. What I passed in my laste *Spanishe* Services, it is like that her Highnes doth therby receive Honour, and her Subjects shall fynde good and Proffite, both of ther Conscience and surer Trade: I referr the rest of my Travailes to other of more Judgment, to remember, and honourable to alledge for me; Thus I be-take myself and my Estate into your Hands, comytting you to God's Tuition.

I am, &c

To

To Mr. Secretaryes.

I Did latelie advertise your Honours of the Deathe of the *Portugalle* Kynge, by *Blumantell*, which had been since confirmed, as also that the Duke of *Braganzas* Wyfe hopeth to be accepted Q. notwithstandinge they doe heare greatlye doubt the Armye and Strength of *Spayne* will overrule Righte in that Behalfe, althoughe the *Portugals* have no lykinge to come under the Gounment of the Kynge of *Castille*, and the commone People earnestlye bent to the contrarye. The fyve which were assigned to gouverne the Realme untill the Resolotione of the Successione were agreed on, doe mainteyn as yet the ordinary Justice and Gounment, and have sent two Ambassadors unto Kynge *Phillippe*, which Kynge pretends to pass towards *Portugale*, as farre fourth as *Guadaluppe*, meaninge ther to solemnize the Buryalle of the olde Kynge of *Portug.* sendinge on-wardes before his Forces, to remaine on the Confynes of *Portugalle*, as the Lettres wrytten from *Madrid*, the 15th of *Febr.* doe certifye. I receaved this Daye Lettres from *Lyones*, declaringe how *Michael Sael*, a Factoure, ther for the *Spaniards* had receaved Intelligence out of *Spayne*, with a dispatche unto the Emperoure, and another to the Duke of *Terra Nova*, confyrminge the Cardinall Kynge of *Portugall's* Deathe. They wryte directlie from sondrye Parts, how the Catholicke Armye is prepared for the Realmes of her Majestie, yf the Affaires of *Portugalle* doe not lett their Enterpryse, and to the Intent her Highnes maye not be succoured, they have at *Rome* excommunicated her. The Cardinal *Alexandrine*, Nepuew to Pope *Pius Quintus*, hath caused many Copies of the Excommunicatione to be prynted, for to disperse them Abroad amongs the Ambassadors, and others of *Rome*. In the Discourse out of *Italye*, they wrytte that Kynge *Phillipe* was moued to procure this Excommunicatione, and to gather theis Forces uppon Suspitione of the Confederacye, he  
suppo-

supposeth the Q. is entred into with Monsieur, for the taking on him the Protectione of the Lowe-Contreys. I have shewed thus much to Monfr. for to let Monsieur knowe therof. And

as the chiefe Potentates are confederated together, so allmoste now, in all the Prynces of *France*, ther are particuler Papist Leagues, and certayne Brother-hoodes, which they saye is pretended, for to be framed likewise in *Englande*: And to that Intent ther be divers hallowed smalle Crosses and Medaylls, which are to be worne secretlye, of those I send your Honoures two Couples for a Patterne.

Ther is levyng in *Tuscane* 12 thousand Soldyors more, for the Catholick Kyng, to be conducted by *Prospero, Colonna* and *Conte*.

The Itallyanes and other Soldyors, which landed fyrste in *Spain*, are consumed very muche with Sicknes, and have no great Abundance of Victuailles. If the easterly Provisiōe of Corn from *Danste* and such like Places, and out of her Majesties Coastes, were restrained for a few Months, as unto *Julye*, it might be good Meanes to disfurnish their Victuailinge, and force those of *Bisquay* and dwellers in *Galicia*, to exclame for Hunger, and to waxe lothe to enter into any Hostillitye with *Englande*. The Abbote of *Brisemio*, a *Neapolitan*, which was Nuntio in *Flourence*, in Pope *Pius Quintus* Tyme, and now the Spanishe Kyngs Agent at *Rome*, hath ben an earnest Sollicitour to the Pope, for the Excommunicatione against the Q. Majestie. *Arnold* Secretarye to Monfr. *Maluiser* is yet heare, now his Brother hath receaved his Patent from the Scottishe Q. to be her Treasurer, and entereth into the Accompts of his Office at *Midsummer*: I do send herewith a Copie of Pope *Pius Quintus Bulla de excom.* againste her Highnes, and an Indulgence procured by *Don Bernardine de Mendosa*, to Poison therwith the Myndes of her Highnes Subjects. Some principal Cardinal (*Catelje*) said, That whereas it pleased God that Pope *Gregorius, primus Magnus*, did firste induce the Christiane Faythe into *England*, he hoped that this *Grego-*



*rius* XIII, inold be the Meanes to retourne the whole Englishe Nation to the Catholick Faythe.

The Kynge dispatcheth within theis three Dayes, Monfr. *de Longley*, on Message to Kynge *Phillippe*. The Governour of *Millane* practiseth with the Capitayne of *Cremona*, to have surprised *Mirandola*, the only Citye in *Italye*, which is at the Frenche Kyngs Devotion. The Q. of *Spayne* was delivered of a Daughter about the beginning of *Februarye*.

The People in *d'Aupbiny* have had a bickeringe with those Nobles of the Catholique League, wherin ther is about a hundred slayne on both Sides. *Lavallet* unto whom the Kynge gave the Gounment of the Marquisate of *Salus* is returned. St. *Lue* hath sent Answere to the Kynge how he thinketh not Good to be without a Place of Refuge, since he perceaveth his Majestie Displeasure so highly kyndled againste him, notwithstandinge he proposeth to doe his Majestie dutyfull Service, in that Place. Monfr. *d'O* is returned to the Courte. The Q. Mother hath ben troubled with a swellinge in her Throate throughe the fallinge of a Catarrhe, and is now well amended, notwithstandinge she kepeth her Chamber, and sometymes all the Daye her Bedd.

The Kynge was this laste Weke at St. *Germaines*, being ther avayted on by Monsieur *d'O. Arx, La Valet*, the elder *Leancourt* and *Chateaurvieux*.

*Thus I comytte your HONORS to the Allmightie, &c.*

*Advertised Mr. Secrataryes of theis Poinctes followinge, demaunded by the Emperoure of the States of Bohem.*

1. **T**HAT they would give him Meanes to pay his Debts and his Father's, and *Ferdinandos*, but that his owne sholde firste be paide.

2. That they wolde give him on every Barrille of Beere, two Pieces of Silver, called Groffi, more then they gave the laste Yeare, which wer then given him for the Payment of his Debts, but now he will have all those fixe Groffi on the Yeere, to be allowed for the Maintenance of his House, which will amount Yearlie to 600 thousand Dallers.

3. That those Grauntes which wer given him in the laste Dyett, may continue thre Yeares longer, which was, that every House do pay him yearlie 3 Dallers. That every Jew pay him 15 Dallers; and that the imposte set on Wood, and Cattel may continue.

4. Wheras in their Dyett helde the laste Yeare, the Realme of *Bobem.* was content to pay him 150000 Dallers, towarde the maintenance of the Warrs in *Hungary*, wherof ther is employed 40 thousande for the fortifieing of two Places in the Confines, now his Majestie requirethe that yearlie they wolde give 20 thousand Dallers for the continuance of the saide Fortifications, and the abovesaide 40 thousande Dallers be repaide to his Majestie, havinge ben by him layde out to the Use aforesaide.

5. That the Kyngdome of *Bobem.* doe cause to be fortified at their owne Charges, a Forte called *Vizze*, a Place of Importance in *Hungary*.

6. That the Debts of *Ferdinando* and *Maximiliane* sholde be paide for that the Interest therof groweth to become now almoste as great

as

as the Principalle. Likewise the Emperour meaneth to cause those of *Silesia*, *Moravia*, and *Hungary*, to paie the Portione due to the Arche Dukes his Brothers, which cometh to 376 thousand Dallers.

7. That his Majestie willeth and desireth, that ther maye be assigned to the Empreffe in *Bohem*. 20 thousand Crownes uppon some Citye, to the Intent she may be somewhat honourable entertained as Queene of *Bohemia*.

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*To the Lordes of the Privye Counsaile.*

WHereas yf it may like your moste honourable Lordshippe's I receaved of Mr. Secretaryes, at my comynge out of *Englande*, certaine Articles for the avoydinge of Pyrates and Depredationtes, I did accordinge to my Instruccionnes, mak Declaratione to the Christiane Kynge, of her Majesties Zeal for the delyveringe from that kynde of Outrage the Merchants and well disposed Personnes, the Prynces her Confederates, as also her own Vassalls. And to the Intent her Christiane Meanyinge hearin shold be made the better knowne, she had caused to be sett downe, by the advised Advise of your Lordships, theis Articles, as the assured Meanes to redresse suche Excesse, and therby to tye the Handes and staye the Proceedings of all Rovers. The which his Majestie doth very well, lik of, and thanketh greatlie her Highnes for this her good Demonstracon, toward the Repose of his Subjects, and hath caused those Articles to be comunicated to his Counsaile, and other principall Personnes, being Officers in his Admiraltye, which being done now latelie, his Majestie did cause Monsr. *La Mothe Fenelon*, and Secretarye *Pinaft*, to come unto me, and to delyver this inclosed Orders; and all which the Kynge and his Counsaile doe lyke of, wyllynge me for to send the same to her Majestie, whereby the maner of Proceedings against these Pyrats might be by the Advise and Consent



sent of the Prynces of bothe theis Realmes, considered and agreed on; after that, theis other Articles may be by your Lordships well weighed. Farder *Pinart* said, That it semed to him how the Kynge wolde be contented there shold be Corts heare in *Parys*, for the spedie Judgment and orderinge of those Causes, wherby her Majesties Subjects shold not nede to travayle for the Proceffe of those Affaires, into any other farder Partes of *Fraunce*, but hither; wher they might be nighe their Countrey, and assisted by the Qu. Majesties Ambassador.

Wheras your Lordships had directed your Letters unto me, to deale with the Kynge, in the behalfe of *John Woodward*, Merchante of *London*, his Majestie and the Q. Mother hath gyven Order, that all those Goods which are not apparantly proved to be *Taylors* owne Property, and so forfeited *par loy d'Albeine*, shall be restored presently to the Owners; which I hope is allreadye done, for that the Letters of the Order are sent. The Kynge hath wrytten his earnest Letters to *Monfr. de Gourdan*, for delivery of the Englishmen imprysonned in *Callays*, and to restore the Goodes to the righte Owners, wherin I likewise moued the Kynge, being so comanded and instructed by your Lordships Letters. I have certified her Majestie how the olde Kynge of *Portugal* deceased the 31 of *January* laste, about Midnight, wheruppon the Kynge of *Spaine* presently addresseth his Powres towards that Kyngdome, therby to make good his pretended Right, as by Lettres from *Madrid* dated the 5th of this Month is advertised. ---- Thus I rest with humble Dutye, redy to receve and obey your farder Comandements, prayeng to God that by the Meanes of his Holy Spirite of Unitye, your Lordships may deale with your accustomed worthie Wysedomes, in the Affayres, and for the Defence of her Majesties Estates.

Your HONORS,

*Humbly to obey and serve, duringe my Lyfe,*

HENRY COBHAM.

To

*To the QUEENES MAJESTIE.*

**I**T hath pleased God to calle to his Mercye the Olde Cardinal Kynge of *Portugal*, the 31st of *January*, about Midnight; and the next Morning after *Donnya Cattberina*, Wyfe to the Duke of *Braganza*, was, as they wryte, declared Q. of *Portugalle*; wheron the *Spanishe* Kynge hath addrested his Armye toward *Portugalle*, and is intended for to goe in Person, as the Letters dated at *Madrid* the 6th of this Month did reporte, the which were sent hither to this Kynge yesterdaye, very earlie in the Morninge. But yet I wold not certifie this unto your Majestie, untill I had receaved farder Knowledge by sondry good Meanes, and that I had sene and redd some Letters sent from the *Spanishe* Courte, directed hither to a principall Persone, verifieing thus muche, and allso that the *Portugueze* seme unwillinge to come under the Government of the *Castilayne* Kynge. Ther is Order and Preparations made on bothe Sydes, but it is muche doubted that the Forces of *Spaine* will preuaille.

The Ambassadors in the Catholik Kyngs Courte, did prepare themselves for to have accompanied the Kynge in this Voyage toward *Portugal*: Now wylst theis Matters are in Hand, your Majestie shall have more Tyme to gyve assured Order in your high Affayres, for that their Mallice is not alltered, thoughe throughe Occasions, the Executione is deferred, as partlie by a Copy of a Letter, which I send to Mr. *Secretaries*, your Highnesse maye gesse, that they wold trouble by all Meanes, your quyet Estate. Yet thus the Almightye sheweth to be your gracious God, and mightie Defender; whom I beseeche to gyve me Grace for to serve you happilye, and your Majestie a Mynde to help me.

*Your MAJESTIES humble Subject*

*and faythfull Servaunt,*

HENRY COBHAM.

*To the QUENES MAJESTIE,**The 1st of March, 1579.*

**I**F it like your Majestie, ther is this Daye Letters come hither from *Madrid* of the 19th of *Februarye*, wherein it is certified, How the *Portugals* do yet continue constante in ther Opinyone againste the Kynge of *Castille*; and how they seme inclined to accept *Donnya Cattberina*, Wyfe to the Duke of *Braganza*, for to be ther Q. wher-on your Majestie (yf it will stande with your Pollicye) may shew your selfe gracious to comforte another Quene, oppressed in her Right, accordinge to the honourable Compassion of great Ladyes. In the which I truste the Almightye shall accompanye your Majesties Counsailes and Aëtioness, according to his holy Will; and contynue your prosperous Reign, to the Comfore of all his good People, with a happie and healthfull Lyfe.

*Your MAJESTIES humble obedient**Subject, and Servant,*

HENRY COBHAM.

*The Ambaffader to the Lord Treasurer.*

**I**F it please your Lordship, the *Portugalle* Ambaffador, *Cataghero Giraldi*, hath delyuered me, under the Coloure of Visitatione, a Packett with an enclosed Letter, of *Donna Cattberina*, Duchesse of *Braganza*, which he desireth may be delyuered to her Majesties owne Hands, and withall Secrecy kept, so as especialllye none  
of



of the Ambassadors *Legiers*, or others, may be made privye therunto as yet: His Hope is that your Lordships will thinke well to have the Righte of his Ladye favoured, and the Tirannye of the *Castillyne* Kynge brydled, by all suche Meanes as her Majestie may thinke good; as well by Treatye with the saide Kynge or otherwise, as Occasione may serve. He hath required me in like sorte, to send his Dispathe to Monfieur, for that he is by the *Spanishe* Ambassadors muche watched, and his Doings greatlie looked unto; so as yf his Dealinge for this Lady mighte be any waye perceaved, it wold be an Occasione that Kynge *Phillippe* wold with greater Expeditione presse uppon them. If her Majestie maye thinke good, I shall willingly delyver suche Message, as maye be commaunded me to the *Spanishe* Agent in any sorte: It is understood that he hath ben a busye Dealer againste the Maryage of Monsieur with her Majestie; and an often Visitor and great Practiser wythe the *Scottishe* Quenes Ambassador, and with the Bysshoppe of *Rosse*. Methinketh that Sir *Giraldi* cold be gladd her Majestie and the Christiane Kynge wold joyne together in the Actione for the Protectione of the Duchesse of *Braganzas* Righte, and desyreth that some suche Expeditione maye be used in theis Affayres, as the Necessity of the Cause importeth, and shall seme good to her Majestie; as yet the Ambassador of *Portugalle*, *Legier*, in *Englande*, is not made privye hearunto, but in Tyme *Giraldi* sayth, he shal be trusted as one knowne confident ynoughe in this Cause.

*Thus I commytte your Lordshippe to Allmightie God.*

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*To Sir Francis Wallfingham.*

THE Ambassador of *Portugalle* understandinge how this Gentleman was to passe presentlye towarde *Englande*, requested me for to send in my Packett, to my Lord Treasurer, his Letters unto her.

her Majestie, wherein ther is one from the Duchesse of *Braganza*; he desired with many earnest Words, that this may be held most secret, and in any wise concealed from all the Ambassadors Legiers: I doe send her inclosed to your Honour, a Letter directed to my Cousine *Edwarde Woottone*, the which the *Portugall* Ambassadoure delyuered me, wishinge he may be aduertised for to have it kept unknowne. --- His Pretence is, that the *Spanishe* Ambassador doth watche him and his Dealings. He semeth now a Passionate Suitor againste the *Castyllyanes*, and delyvereth his Mynde therin more frely then before. *Thus I humbly take my Leave.*

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*To Sir Francis Walsingham.*

**I** Doe send your Honor heare inclosed a Note of *G--- B---*, as Acknowledgement, for the receipt of three hundred and thirtie Crownes.

By the next, I think, he will wryte unto you the Causes which moved him to presse me to disburse so muche unto him. --- If the Effect may followe his Desseins, he maye be a great Meanes for her Majestie to stave some Wayes her farder Charges.

*From Parys, the 17th  
of Marche 1579.*

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*To Mr. Secretaryes.*

**F**OR that this Bearer requireth to use Expeditione in his Retourne, I wold not stave him, but only wryte theis few Wordes, havinge dispatched foure Dayes paste Mr. *Slingesbey*, with Letters to your Honors. The Kynge hath, and doth remayne at St. *Germane*

*mayne*, partelie uppon a litle Smartinge or Payne of his Legg, and partelie for his Pleasure, and the Quene Mother as yet kepeth her Chamber. The Duke of *Guyse* is gone to his House beyde *Eureux*, with Intent to retourne this Weke; some Speches are deliuered, that he shold cause thre or fowre Shippes to be rigged, but I fynde no certayne Foundatione of that Rumoure: It is like that he cold be contented to be employed in some Action, whereby the Opinyon of his Greatnes mighte be maintained, as also that therby he mighte fynde Meanes to pay parte of his greate Debts, but no Resolutione or beginninge hearof as yet knowne. I do heare inclose and send to your Honours, suche Occurrents as are by this Poste broughte out of *Italye*. This Bearer dothe informe me nothinge of Importance from Monsieurs Courte, only that he should saye to him that he meaneth to be in *England* shortlie. I doe understand how his Highnes hath commaunded his followers to putte themselves in a readynes, and to gather Companies, whych is suspected to be for the Enterprise of the Low-Countreys. This other Daye he sent hither Monsieur *de la Fin*, to visitte the Quene Mother and the Kynge: For a few Dayes ther was an Opinyone that the Kynge and the Courte sholde have removed from hence towarde *Fontainebleau*, but that Bruite is passed over. The Bisshoppe of *Rosse* hath ben with me agayne, to lett me knowe how his Messenger was retourned, which had ben in *Englande*, sollicitinge his Suite for to obtayne her Majesties favourable Letters in his Behalf, to Monsieur, for an Abbey, whereon he conceaueth small Hope that waye, but wold have had me written to Monsieur *Semyer*: I aunswared him, that since he had understoode the Queenes Majesties Meaninge, it was not a Matter for me to deal in; he farder discoursed unto me, that his Quene had ben caluminated to have said some Wordes in the Dispraise of Monsieur, touchinge the which Report he saythe, that he hath aunswared the Quenes Majestie so well, as that her Highnes resteth satisfied; with theis and suche like Speaches he passed away some Tyme. Ther passeth from hence shortlie towarde *Scotlande*,



the Abbote of *Landors*, the said Bysshopps Kynfeman, with whom one of the Duke of *Guyse* Escuierys hath muche practised latelie. Ther is nothinge farder out of *Portugall* since my laste. They of *Rockell* have lately taken a *Spanishe* Shippe, wherein wer fyve Pypes full of *Spanishe* Ryalles, of two Shillings the Piece, Suger Chests to the Value of 150 Thousande Francks, riche Furrer and Eiftrich Feathers, to the Value of 6 Thousand Francks; and so muche is confessed by the Merchaunte of *Rockell*, who is heare to sue that the Kinge doe not trouble them for their Enterprise. But *Vergas*, the *Spanishe* Agent hath complayned hearof to the Quene Mother; ad- dinge, they had also 100 Thousand Francks in Pistolets, and that they funke the said Shippe and Maryners, which is true. Wheras in *January* laste I wrote, and sent by Meanes, to Monsieur *Rogan* and Monsieur *de la Vallé*, having their Territoryes in *Bretayne*, and alonge the Coaste of *Spaine*, to be advertised of the Army, and Preparations made by the Kynge of *Spaine*; They aunswared me, That the said Kynge addressed his Preparations toward *Portugall*, and that in the Porte of *San Lucar* wer sene two great Shippes, wherein wer two huge Yrone Chaines of marvailous Bignes and Length; and also dyvers Spades and Shovells.

But about this Coaste, this Kynge maketh no Preparations.

*Francisco Erasso*, which had ben so longe in *Swedeland*, Agent for the Kynge of *Spayne*, havinge ben also in the Prince of *Parma's* Courte, is retourned with many Dispatches, and departed toward *Spaine*: But before his Departure, I sent one unto him, under Pretence (which he fayned for that Purpose) to confer with him, who told that the Kynge of *Swedeland* is inclyned to be a Papiste, and is a great Friend of Kynge *Phillippes*; and that he receaveth yearlie out of *Italye*, 40 Thousand Crownes, by the Inheritance of the late Quene, called *Regina Bona*.

Mr. *Parker*, Brother to the Lorde *Morley*, came to me this other Daye, being come hither the laste Weke, in Company of Mr. *Lyg-*  
gynes,

*gynes*, a yonge Gentleman of the West Countrey; he saith, That he came hither onely to see his Mother, and uppon certaine Occasions, of his Fathers laste Will, and that he came in Companie of one of the ordinarye Posts.

Thus I leave your Honours in the Tuitiōe of Allmightie God.

*Your* HONOURS assured to Commaunde,

HENRY COBHAM.

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*To the Earle of* LEICESTER.

**I** Receaved (my singuler good Lorde) your Lordshippes two Letters, by this Bearer, since which Tyme he hath ben at Monsieurs Courte; by whose Answer it will appeare, what Devotion Monsieur hath to her Majestie; as also the over-muche Dispositione he will shew to his Ceremoniūs Masses, wheather it will like him to wyne the Love of her Majestie, and leave the obstynate Demand in the Matter of his Devotions. I can learne no Particulers of this Messenger concerninge the Matter of Marriage.

Monsieur *Semyer* sent me now a Letter, with a few courteous Words of Accomplements onely.

It semeth that Monsieur intendeth to undertake the Enterprise of the Lowe Countreys, yf it may be any waye agreable to his Mynde, and on that Occasion his followers, doe by his Commaundements, gather together Companies secretlie. Whither this litle Beginninge will have any other Proceedinge, God knoweth, since the Manner hath ben heare to make many Onsetts, but to finishe well few.

As they shall goo forwards in their Enterprises, so will I not faile but to advertise, wherby her Majestie maye thinke of that which  
shal

shal be best for her Safety and Contentacione. I did by the laste send a Dispathe, touchinge the Affaires of *Portugall*, the which yf it maye be delt in, accordinge to that Wisdome wherewith your Lordships have heretofore mannaged the like Occasion, and yf the *French* do not intrude themselves, it will become, I hope, as good an Impeachment on that Side, as *Flaunders* is now for those Parts.

I truste your Lordships will vouchsafte to lett me understande wherein I may to the Purpose imploye my Services; for through your Advise, I maye the better knowe how to satisfye her Majesties Commaundements, the which I covyt to performe; I doe humblye recommend to your Lordships furtherance my Suite, hopinge Mr. Secretary *Willfone* hath moved it for me of late, wherin your Lordship hath Meanes to bynde me and myne unto you.

*Praying for the contynuanee of your prosperous Estate, &c.*

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*To Mr. Stafforde.*

**M**Y good Mr. *Stafford*, this Bearer havinge ben at Monsieurs Courte, can best informe you what he hath sene, and other Letters which he bringeth, will declare the Doubtes, or hope of their Staye.

Wherin I cannot so farre forthe satisfye you, havinge receaved no Advertisements from thence.

Since your being hear, the Kynge hath ben for the moste parte at *St. Germaines*, and the Quene Mother hath kept her Chamber and Bedd, constrayned therunto throughe the Indispositione of her Healthe.

I sup-



pose that you have hearde how they of *Cambray* have taken the Duc of *Anjou* to be their Souereign Lord, and lyke Offers, the other Members of the Lowe Contreys do make to his Highnes. In this sorte the State of theis Affayres doe remayne.

*Thus I commytte you to the Protection of Allmightie God.*

From *Parys*, the 12th.  
of *Marche*, 1579.

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*The Ambassador to Lord Chamberlayn Suffex.*

**W**HERAS my Lord, I have of late written twise to Monsieur, as also to Monfr. *Semyer*, hitherto I have nether understoode from his Highnes nor from him, so muche as of the receipt of my Letters, wherof I have somethinge lamented to *De Urey*, who this other Daye is retourned to *Aingiers*.

And for that it semeth the Quene Mother hath Causes of Importaunce, to conferr with Monsieur her Sonne, who sheweth as yet, no present Dispositione to come hither; she taketh her Journey toward him on the sixt this present, wheron it is judged her Meanyng to be, for to deale with him in two principall Causes: *Fyrste*, In Consideratione that they take hear the Cause of the Maryage in *Englande* to be somethinge backward, and her Desyne daily increaseth to see her Sonne marryed, by Reasone of her farder Yeares, and the Weaknes of her Elder Sonne.

So as she semeth to be of Mynde, uppon some Words she hath latelie delyvered to sondry, and especially to President *de Pau*, lately

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sent from their Majesties to the Kynge of *Nauarre*, which was that she asked him of her Daughter, the Prynceesse of *Nauarre*, addinge that she was indeede her Daughter, for she ment she shold shortly be her Sonnes Wyfe, wherof she hath freightlie willed him to advertise the Kynge of *Nauarre* and the Princeesse; besyde this, of late Conference with sondry Ambassadors heer, she sayd, That althoughe the Matters of *Flanders* wer to be considered on, and the Affayres of *Portugalle* to be delt in, yet the Marryage of her Sonne did more importe her for the contynuanee of Successione to the Crowne, so as she concluded that this was firste to be done; uppon whych her Speeches, the Ambassadors gessed she ment on the Duke of *Lorrayns* Daughter, whom she entirely loveth, and holdeth in the nighest and highest Place about her, and theron the Bruyte is delyvered that the Maryage shold be ment toward her.

With whomsoever it is, It semeth that her only and Daily Care is, to brynge her Sonne to some Matche, thoughe she fynde not him, as yet so resolutely inclyninge to her Defyres therein.

Besyde this, she hath in the Conference of the Matters of the Lowe Countrey, and Treatye of the Articles propounded, by the States ther, shewed herself not to be bent that way, but rather enclyned to move her Sonne towarde the Affaires of *Portugalle*, as a Matter of greater Weighte, and more preiudicyall to this Realm, yf Kynge Phillip shold attayne the Possession therof; for that *Flanders* may be easily intertayned in the State as it is; but Kynge Phillip havinge possessed *Portugalle*, it will hardlie be recovered out of his Handes: --- She hath sent to the King of *Nauarre*, to have some Conference with him, and to se her Daughter, his Wyfe; so as some think, ther will be some Conference shortlie with these Prynces, but I am informed of the contrary.

She hath also promysed, That certayne Townes shal be restored to the Kynge of *Nauarre*, which wer lately taken from him; and that better Orders shal be gyven in those Parts, wher he governeth, than

than hitherto hath ben. In the meane Tyme the Counsaile are hear busye in bryinging to passe some Wayes for amassing of Monye, wherby the Kyngs Debts may be partlie payed, which is thoughte will be accomplished, by levyeng the same on the walled Townes only; and not generally of the Towneshippes and Communalities.

Doctour *Miron*, the Kynges chief Phisician, is gone to the *Baths a Plumiers*, in *Lorrayn*, whose retourne is looked for about the 11th of this present, at what Tyme, the Kynges Resolutione will be knowne, whither he proposeth to goe, pretendinge as yet, to goe thither for his Healthes sake, or at lest the Quene his Wyfe, except some extraordinary Chaunces doe divert his Intent that Waye.

The Ambassador of *Pontugalle* hath obtayned, in Favoure of the Cause of his Contrey. *Firste*, That the Kynge hath written earnestlie to the Bysshoppe of *Rome*, declaringe his Mislyke, that the Kynge of *Spayne* shold, by Force, mayntein his Pretence toward the Crowne of *Portugalle*; as allso wishinge the Pope to mislyke therof, and to disswade the Catholique Kinge from advancinge his violent Course that Waye: Likewise both the Kinge and Quene Mother did make very gracious Answers to *Donna Catherinas* Letters, as allso that he hath willed his Ambassador, Resident in *Spayne*, to perswade the Catholique Kynge to surcease from his forceble Proceedings.

By ther laste Letters out of *Spayne*, It is certified how the younge Duke of *Barseilles*, who was detayned a while at *St. Lucar*, and thoughte should have ben sent to *Seuilia*, shal be suffered to retourne into *Portugalle*, and is supposed to be ther before this Tyme, to the great Contentatione of *Donna Catherina* his Mother, and them of that Countrey.

And allthoughe the Kynge is gone to *Guadaluppe*, and the Duke of *Alba* passed towarde the Frontiers of that Countrey, with some Parte of the Armye, yet it is understoode how the Kynge will not enter forcebly into *Portugalle*, untill the Declaratione of the Successor be made.

Befyde



Befyde that *Fabrilio Colonna*, Sonne and Heir of *Marc Antonio Colonna* is dead of the Plague,---Ther have died sondry other Captaynes and Gentlemen of Name; wheron the Kynge hath for a Tyme, disperfed his Armye, the better to avoyde the Infectiōe which was hottely begonne, amonge his Companies of Men of Warre.

The Cardinall *Granville* is chief Mannager of the Affayers of *Spayne*, and nothinge is done ther without Intelligence and Conference of the Consistorye of *Rome*.

Wheras the *Christyane* Kynge held hear, at the End of the laste Moneth, the Ceremony for the Funeralls of the two laste deceased Kyngs of *Portugalle*, the Pope's Nuntio wold not be present, though he was invyted by the Kynge, which was much noted; nether doth the Nuntio visette or conferr with the *Portugall* Ambassador, as other in former Tyme have ben accustomed to doe; wherin the Pope's Partiallitye is something espied.

Since the writinge hearof, ther is come a Curror from *Lisbona*, with Letters for certayne Merchants in *Andwerp*, which wer vsited and opened as he passed throughe *Spayne*: It is wrytten in them, How *Don Antonio* and the Duke of *Braganza* have agreed together wherby it semeth they are united in *Portugalle*. The Plague continueth in *Lisbona*. It is signified allso, how Kynge *Phillipp* was come to *Guadaluppe*, wher he ment to hold theis Hollydayes paste, which being done, he ment to goe towarde *Seuilia*, wheras ther was levyed in *Italye* 9000 *Italynes*. Ther are more then 4000 of them dead, the reste pass'd on slowly towatd the Frontiers of *Portugalle*.

The Ambassadors sent by the States of *Portugalle*, the one called *Mannle de Melomonteramo*, the other being the Bysshop of *Coembra*, are now admitted to the Kynge of *Spaynes* Presence, and have had Audyence of the said Kynge twyse, whose Conference tended to pacifye the Kynge, and to perswade him that the Matter of Declaratiōe of the Successor myght passe by waye of Justice, which is taken  
by

by the Kynge to be done, onlye to wynde Tyme, wherefore the Catholique Kynge procedethe wyth his Preparations, wishing them to growe to some Resolutione.

*Thus I remytte your LORDSHIP*

*to the Tuitione of the ALMIGHTYE.*

*The 19th of Aprill,  
1580.*

*To Mr. Secretaries.*

**I**T is like your Honors, her Majestye may be advertised how the Protestant Party is but very weake, and much torne in fonder, being yet oppressed by the *Mareschaux Mommoroney* and *Biron*, which be the two *Bouteveux* on those Partes of this Realme, wher they are constrained to take Armes.

On the 6th of this present, *Fontainelles* being sent from *Biron* hither, broughte Advertisements to the Kynge how the Viscounte *Touraine* hath taken the Towne and Castle of *Montignae le Cont* in *Perigort*, and another Castle on the Ryver of *Liseres*, the which Viscounte hath done assistinge *Baupre*, who hath a Quarrell with *Pompador*, wheron presentlie, the same Daye, the Kynge hath dispatched a Curror to the saide Viscounte, commandinge him, and exhortinge him to lyve in Peace, accordinge to the Edict; wrytinge lykewise to *Strossi*, being now at his Bysshopprick, beside *Tholouse*, to doe good Offices for the Satisfactione of all Partes.

The Kynge hath likewise despatched a Messenger toward *Montmorency*, shewing how he mislyketh of his takinge of Townes, and surprisinge of Castles.

N n n

Doctor

Doctor *Miron*, the Kynges chief Phisician, went the 29<sup>th</sup> of *Marche* to visite the *Baths a Plumiers*.

Captayne *Hakerstonne*, a *Scotte*, came frome the Prioure of *Prouence*, with Request to have Commiſſiones to levy Men, bycause they of the Commonalty of *Daulphine* ſeme to joyne with them of the Religione in *Prouence*.

*Le Vallet*, the Kynges Mynion, is come from *Paluſſe*, havinge by Monye and other Meades compaſſed ſome Apparance of *Guyetnes* in that Marquiſate.

The Ambaſſador of *Savoy* did informe how the Duke his Maſter was the principalleſt Meanes therin, by ſendinge to *Le Vallet* 10 thouſand Crownes, and ſome *Piedmontoys* of his Militia, to the beſieginge of the Caſtle of *Paluſſe*, and Fortreſſe of *Carmagnola* and *Reucille*, Colonel *Chamberg* is appoynted by the Kynge to goe into *Germany*. When the Kynge ſatte in Counſaile for to levy Men, the firſte Preſident, named *De Thou*, after the Kynge had made Request of 7 Millyones of *Lyvres*, makinge a Croſſe, he ſaid, *Sancta Maria*, Ther is not much Monye in all *France*. Preſident *Sequire* followinge the fyrſt Preſident in Speache, Not ſo much Mony in all *France* ſaythe he? Wher is *Sardigni*! Wher is *Ruckellai*! Wher is *Diacetto*! With which the Kynge ſomethinge ſmyled, and told them they ſhold not take Care how to compaſſe it, for Monſr. *Bellicure* Superintendent of the Finances, ſhold declare them the Meanes, which *Bellicure* hath ben Ambaſſador with the *Suiſſes*, and knoweth beſt the man- naginge of the Affaires of *Almany* with this Crowne.

*Sonday* the 27<sup>th</sup> of *Marche*, Monſr. *de Pau* came hither, beinge ſent from the Kynge of *Nauarre*, who hath ſold a Baronne in *Nor- mandye*, called *Eſpernon*, eſtemed worth 10 Thouſand Crownes, and a Towne in *Anjou*, called *La Fleche*.

The Quene Mother is gone to Monſr. the 6<sup>th</sup> of this preſent, hav- ing ſent before, her chiefe Phisiciane, called Monſr. *Vigor*; ſince  
that



that, Monsieur *Seale* hath ben taken from the Bysshop of *Mande*, it hath ben offred to Monfr. *Perrot*, by whom ther was made therof some Refusalle, in respecte that he is not acquaynted with Matters pollitique, but practised in iurisdiciall Causes. And for that President, *de Vert*, hath made Suyte for it, it is thought it wil be bestow- ed and divyded thus,

To the *premier* President, named *Christofle de Tbou* for 4 Moneths.

To *De Vert* for 4 Moneths, and *Perrot* 4 Moneths; and so ac- cordingly by tournes, but yf it be bestowed uppon any one Man, it is thoughte Monfr. *Pibrac* have it.

The Governors of *Portugalle* purpose to send a Gentleman on Mes- sage, (who is thoughte to be on his way to *Rome*) to the Intent to intreat the Pope, that by all Meanes a Cardinall be sent into ther Countrey. The Ambassador heer hath advertised the *Portugalle* Am- bassador *Legier* at *Rome*, how the Nuntio being invyted by the Chris- tyane Kynge, wold not be present at the Celebratione of the Fune- ralles of the two last *Portugalle* Kynges: Nether hath he by any Vi- sitatione condoled for the Deathe of the Kyngs, accordinge to the Custome of Ambassadors in the like Case; so as it is noted, how he hath made open Demonstratione of some strange strange Dealinge therin. The Kynge of *Spayne* hath commanded that the Duke of *Barseilles* shold be conveighed from *St. Lucar*, wher he was fyrste detayned to *Seuilia*, in the *Alcassar*, the which is the Kyngs chief House, and in a manner of a Pryfone, Secretarye *Villeroy* hath in- formed the *Portugalle* Ambasiador, Resident heer, that many of the Nobilitye in *Spayne* shewed their Mislyke of the Manner of Impriso- nyng the younge innocent Duke. And the Ambassador hathe greatlie complayned of it to the Kynge, shewing how the *Spanyshe* Kynge did procure his Delyurey out of the Hands of the *Mores*, as it semeth now, to have him in his owne Hands a Prysoner. The *Portugal* Ambassador hear, bestoweth xx thousande Crownes in Ar- mour,

mour, Corseletts, Harquebuses, and Powder, wherof ther is great Scarcety hear ; he perswadeth earnestlie the Kynge to send an Ambassader in *Portugalle*, presently after *Easter*, having delt with Cheualier *de Seure* to that Purpose, whom he fyndeth willinge ynoughe. Doctor *Knotte* is lately come out of *Spayne*. The Duke of *Brunswicke* is Generall of the *Almaynes*; and Don *Pietro di Medicis*, Generall of the *Italyans*. The Kynge of *Spayne* is in League with the Kynge of *Fes*, who hath offred to send him Ayde for the Conquest of *Portugalle*. *Thomas Leuistone*, the Larde of *Glandburye*, and the Abbot of *Lendors*, went together from *Paris* towarde *Scotlande*, on *Mandye Thursdaye*. The Bysshoppes of *Scotlande* hearken muche how the Larde *Boyde* doth cary himself, for that he is esteemed one of the pollitikest Persones in *Scotlande*. The Papistes heer, and the *Scottishe* Bysshoppes, do prayse the Earle of *Shrewsburye* to be a highe Friend of the Quene of *Scottes*, for his well usinge her. Ther is one *Nelcalfe*, who hath brought from *Sheffild*, the Earle of *Shrowburys* House, Letters from the Quene of *Scottes*, to the Bysshop; and *Morgane*, who was sometyme the said Earles Secretary. The saide *Nelcalfe* passed ouer from *Southamptonne* to *Garnesey*, and so hither; ther is also one *Monslowe*, a Traytor, Cousinge to the Bysshop of *Scotlande*; Mr. *Parker* passed over at *Rye*, callinge himself *Suttone*, Kynfeman to my Wyfe, and had a Letter of Recommendatione to one *Didsburye* (who dwelleth and kepeth a Table at *Rye*) to help him over. Mr. *Dauysone*, Licentiate in Lawe, is gone to *Orleans*, who had Order to receave great Sommes of Moneye made out of *Englande*, which he receaved heer in *Parys* of two or three Merchants. Mr. *Sheltonne*, sometyme the old Lord Treasurers Man, is at *Roane*, throughe whose Hands, Money and Letters, and dyvers other Things do passe. Ther is a Book made in *Louayne*, which maketh Declaratione of the Faults which may be corrected against those principall Governors which concern her Majesty.

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The faide Book was maide by a Priest in *Louayne*. On our Lady-day laſte, Mr. *Danyell*, a *Suffolk* Man, went towarde *Englande*, and retourneth ſhortely.

Frome *Rome* it is advertiſed to certayne *Papiſtes* in *Parys*, that they ſhould be of good Courage; exhortinge them how God tryeth his People many Wayes, as it appeareth by ſondry Calamities and Misfortunes which have happened to the Church of God; and now laſte of all, through the Event of the Death of the old Kynge of *Portugalle*, wheron now the *Portugalls* doe contynue in ther Reſiſtance againſte the Catholique Kynge: Surely a Thing ſuffered by God to trye us farder, to the End we may ſee our owne Impertinence; for when this Plotte was fyrſte layde, the younge Kynge was yet lyvinge; and after him ſucceeded a moſt godlie Man, enjoying the Seate. Throughe the Commodity therof, the Waye was then better made agayne; likewise a League was procured with them of *Barbarye*, and an Amitye with the *Turk*; to the Intent ther ſhould be no Impediment; notwithstanding it is a Miracle, to ſee how the Chaunce fell out, through the Death of the Cardinal, late Kynge of *Portugalle*; which is now the only Lett of ſo godly an Enterpriſe. Certainly, a Thing, not only for the Tryalle of our Patience in this mortal Life; but alſo, a Shew of great Punishment towarde the Hereticks; for let all good Chriſtynes be well affured, that the Hereticks of *England* ſhall not be ſuffered to contynue longe in their miſchieuous Proceedings, but that a Waye ſhall be adviſed to cutte them of yer it be longe; and Executione made yer they be aware. I meane, the Uſurper of Auſthorities, the Puddle of Laſciviousnes, the very Antichriſte, and her wicked Counſaile and Minyones, who allwayes mayntein the Enemyes of God and of his Church; ther hereticall Deviſes, ſhall, by Gods Mighte, be withſtanded; and then, by political Meanes cutte off; as, by Gods Help, you ſhall hear more hear-after. Ther is one *Laffel*, a Merchante in *London*, one *Watſonne*, a



Lawyer in London, one Crouder, one Smythe, a Lawyer of Guildhall, and one Whyte, theis advertise very much of the State of Things about London.

I have advertised her Majesty of certaine Priests that are come from Rome, and are departed into her Majesties Realmes: I trust your Honours will make Inquirye after them, and cause the Landinge of them to be attended on, which will be (as I am informed) about the End of this Moneth..

*Thns I commyte your Honours to the Tuitiōe of the Almightrie.*

*The Names of those ENGLISHMEN which wher made Priests in ROME, and are gone over into Englande.*

JOHN NEALE, MEREDITH,  
GEORGE MARTIN, HYDE,  
RICHARDE HADDOCK, THO. WOORTHINGTONNE.

*Those that wer reddey to departe.*

THO. DARBISHER, HENRY ORSONNE,  
WM. and GABRIELL ALLYNE, ROBERT JOHNSONNE,  
HUMFREY ELYE, THOMAS COTTONE.

*To the Earle of LEICESTER.*

**M**Y Lord, I must crave Pardonne of you, yf I doe not so farre forthe enlarge theis present Occurrents as my Mynde and Desynge was to have done; for surely at this Instant, I am  
troubled

troubled with some Indispositione of Healthe; as also I have been compelled to delyver at Lengthe in Wrytinge to the Lord Treasurer, the Aunswear of their Majesties, touchinge the Affayres of *Portugalle*, for that by him I receaved the Quene Majesties Will and Mynde therof; but perceaving by Mr. *Floride*, that he doth belonge and serveth your Lordships somewayes, I have promised him the next Pacquet, by whom I shayll not fayle to delyver fully, the present Course of Affairs which is come to my Knowledge; wishing to your Lordship a longe Lyfe, with Contynuanee of your prosperous Estate.

I beseech you, lett me hear by your next, that you have remembred me, and have taken Tyme to speake to her Highnes for me, with some good News.

I send your Lordship hear inclosed, the Articles propounded by the States of the *Lowe Countrys*, and Monseieurs Aunswear therunto.

*Certaine Demands of the Stats Generall of the Lowe Countreys, and Monseieurs Aunswear therunto.*

I. **T**HAT the Kyng would take in Hand their Cause; together with Monseieurs, or that he will ayde him wth all his Meanes, as well with Money to paye 8000 Footmen and 2000 Horsfemen; as allso to take away the free Passage of Commodities between *Fraunce* and their Enemyes.

His Highnes assureth himself so muche of the Kynges Goodwill, his Lord and Brother, as the States maketh Choyse of hlm to be their Lord with reasonable Conditions, that his Majesty will respect and favoure the Greatnes of his Highnes, and their Preservatione, by all the Meanes he may; and touchinge the 8000 Footmen and 2000 Horsfemen wher with they desyre to be tyded,  
his

his Highnes being requyred and entringe in Personne to incurre the Danger with them, will employ the best and worst he can, and pay the said Forces for thre Moneths.

II. That the Freedomes, Preheminences and Libertyes, may be conserved.

His Highnes will mayntien their Freedoms and Privileges which in former Tyme they have enjoyed.

III. That the Religion which they term *Fredde* may be universally permitted and mayntained.

His Highnes will mayntien the same as it hathe ben agreed by the Stats.

IV. That ther be no Garrysones in their Townes but of their owne Natione; and those to be in Places, where, by his Highnes and Counsaile shal be thoughte mete.

The Garrysonnes with which the said Townes muste be furnished, shal be according as his Highnes with his Counsaile shal fynde it nedefull for Defence of those Places.

V. That the said Counsaile shal be composed of no other then those of tneir Contrey, except two or thre *Frenchmen*, which shall be permitted accordinge to the Order held by the ancient Dukes of *Bourgoigne*; and that the Electione and Nomination of the Degrees and Offices of the Contrey be referred to the States, to name *Frenchmen* or their owne Contrymen at their Discretion.

His Highnes will establesh his Counsaile by Advise of the States, accordinge to the Knowledge which they may have of the Worthynes or Experience of the Personnes.

VI. That they will give to his Highnes all the Demaynes of their Estate for his Mayntenance, and 160 Crownes a Moneth, toward the defrayeng of the Warres.

His



His Highnes will content that the 160 thousand Grounes a Moneth, which the States will furnish for the Mayntenance of Warre, shal be distributed by the Ordonnances and Advise of his Counsaile, and managed by the Treasurers of the Country; and as concernynge the Mayntenance of his Highnes, he will be content with that which shall be thought convenient, according to the Charges he must support. His Highnes will contynue the Allyances and Confederacyes which he shall fynde to be necessary for the Mayntenance of the Wealthe of the publique State; and will, by all Meanes, procure to joyne the Arche-duke in Maryage with suche Party as his Quallity and Greatness requyreth.

To Sir Francis Wallingham.

THE Lady de la Neue hath ben with me, whose most sorrowfull Case is gretly to be pityed and considered, beseeching your Honoure thereon, that theis my Letters may serve you for a Memoryalle, to bestowe yore Speeches to her Majestie, whereby she may be styrred to save the Lyfe, and recover the Liberty of that worthie Christian, and rare Gentleman, unto whom the Christian Church is bounde for his Travails; and all Nobillitye and Knights for his cleare Value, are obliged by their Professione to have in Consideratione.---Therefore me thinketh it shold not be so easily and quietly suffered, that the Ennemyes to his zealous Religion mighte triumphe and use their Outrage upon so singuler a Personne. In Tymes past Mens Mynds have ben vertuously moved to doe great Things for the like Causes, as the Preservatione of so valyant and rare a Gentleman: I beseech your Honour excuse me,

yf I exprefs hearin somethinge more then ynoughe my earnestnes; since he deserueth this, and whatsoever I colde wryte, saye, or doe.

Captayne *del Bene* was sent hence about the *iiii<sup>th</sup>* of this present month by the Kyng unto the Prince of *Orange*, to seke the Meanes for the Delyverance of Monsieur *la Noue*; he was sworne Gentleman of the Kynges Chamber before he went hence. I do find his Letter to your Honour, which beareth Date when he was appoynted, and then stayed agayne.----Madame *de la Noue* useth many Meanes; she sendeth Monsieur *Bellefleur* who is to passe firste into *England*.--The Legate of *Rome*, Cardinal *Ariario* hath made his Journey alonge the *Levant* Coast, throughe the Duke of *Savoys* Territories, and passeth by *Narbonne*, so to *Perpignan*, and from thence into *Spayne*.--I have hearwithe dispatched Mr. *Wade* for to be receaued of your Honour, accordinge to the affectionate humble Duty he beareth towards you; beseeching, that some of those Favours you colde be pleased to bestowe on me yf I wer ther, you will laye them on him as on my dear Friend; as also, that you will vouchsaf to present him to her Majesty, with so good Commendationes, as he may be accepted for her Highnes's sworn Servaunte. Synce that allready he hath shewed to serve her Majesty carefully in other Partes on this Syde of the Sea, and contynueth of Dispositione to bestowe himself in obeying her Majesties farder Commaundements.---I wold be gladde to knowe whych Way I mighte deserve and increase your farder Good-will and Favour; therefore, I besech you, that I may receave by this Gentleman, your Honoures Minde, whych I shall accomlishe accordinglye, with that Affection, as I shall desyre to receave Contentatione from you; wishing, and desiringe, your Honoures good Healthe and happy Lyfe.

I beseech your Honour, that Mr. *Wade* may be retourned with the firste Dispathe, if it may so like you from *Parys*.

*The 9th of June, 1580.*

A P P E N-

Letter from F. Grevill, at Venice, to Lord \_\_\_\_\_

Right Honorable and my very good Lord,

**M**EE thinks I foresee already, that like as they who being once entred into the Shallowes neare the Shoare, are trayned on still, and venture to wade into the Sea: Right so it fareth with me, the farther I goe forward the deeper I tread, and am carried away into a vast Ocean, and bottomlesse Gulfe of Negotiation. Wherefore, now leaving my olde Tragetto, by Way of Information uppon Particulars only, being (as one well noteth) the most compendious Way to know litle, I am resolved (God willing) to imbarke my selfe uppon a deeper Channell, and try how this litle Barcke of mine will guide it selfe in the Maine Ocean, and where the Winds blowe on every Side; *Una Eurusq; Notusq; ruunt.*

It is generally conceaved here that a fatall Crisis is not farre off; and our *Speculativi* doe imagine that they doe already see *signa concotionis*. If we doe not Terre in our Calculation, by the End of the next Moneth ther are likely to bee found 200m. Swdrdes inrolled at the least, if not drawne *pro Libertate & contra Libertatem*, for into these Heades they doe divide themselves.

To begin with those which are *contra Libertatem*: Wee doe allow in the Low Cuntreys unto the Marquis Spinola, and such as doe depend uppon him, the Number of 40m. unto Tilly and the Imperialists with him 30m. unto the Duke of Feria 30m. which make in all 100m. On the other Side, *pro Libertate*, wee doe give unto the Prince of Orange 30m. unto Count Mansfelt 30m. and unto the League here in Italye 50m. which are 100m. By this Account made in grosse the Ballance doth appeare to bee almost equall *ratione Numeri*; and therefore, wee must examine collaterall Circumstances to see whether any may bee found which may giue and add Weight unto either of the Scales.



The contrary Party doth seeme to bee fauored with *vis unita*, which doth increase Strength by way of Concentration,\* for all ther Counsell doe depend uppon one Oracle, or if there bee more Oracles then one on that Side, yet, like the Oracles of Grece, in the Time of *Philipp* of *Macedon*, wee may truly say that they doe all of them *φιλιππειν*. There Mony (which is *nervous belli*) doth come all out of one Treasury, and it is conceaued that these golden Riuer cannot bee dried upp as long as ther *Indian* Heades and Sources are free and unstopped. Besides, feare doth open the Purse of the *Genoese* as wide as may bee, and inforce them to cast a plentiful dewe of Siluer uppon this golden Fleece of *Spayne*. To defraude this Side of nothing they can pretend unto, wee must cast into ther Scale some Graynes of the temporall Power of the Emperor, of the spirituall Authoritye of the Pope, of the Reputation that Side hath to bee Victorious, and the Extension of Dominions they have to entertayne Armyes upon. Now for the other Side, although it might bee doubted that *England*, *France*, *Venice*, and *Sauoy*, and the Low Cuntryes, a Heauen of five Spheres, wherof euery Orbe hath his seuerall Epicycle,† can hardly maynetayne for any longe Time a regular Motion; and that the Irregularitye of any one Orbe may distemper the whole Body, yet those that doe consider how they were uppon a suddayne united, really without Formalities of Treatyes, and how willingly diuerse Persones of different, and perhapps contrary Dispositions, doe concurre, *ad commune restringendum Incendium*, doe conceaue that they may very well, and will very willingly continew ther Motion with Constancy untill they have obtayned the End which was proposed by them all. For ther is no Bond that can tye Princes and States together but common Interests, wherunto if feare of Oppression

\* CONCENTRATION, is a retiring, or withdrawing inwards, or moving towards the Center.

CONCENTRICK, is a Mathematical Term, signifying of the same common Center with another.

CONCENTRATION, is likewise a Term in Chymistry, signifying an Operation, by which the most active Parts of any Liquor, and those from whence it derives its principal Qualities, are collected, and separated from the other Parts, which dilute and render them weaker. N. B. This Definition will give you an Idea of Mr GREVILL's Meaning and Application of the Word.

† EPICYCLE — or little Circle, or small Orb within the circumference of a greater.

pression bee added, it doth make a *Gordian Knott*. A Hand is not the weaker for consisting of five Fingers, but hath the Advantage of embracing more then a close Fist can doe. Besides, the Contribution of Mony diuided amonge so many doth much ease this Side, and I doe hold the Beneuolence of disoppressed Subjects well affected to the Cause, to bee a more lasting Mine then the *Indyes* can afforde. This Side hath a great Advantage considering that *England* and *France* are plethoricall Bodyes, out of which Supernumeraryes may daylie bee drawne, and neuer missed: Whereas the Enemy would bee to seeke if he were put to such a Shift, and I am sure if hee receaue but a small Checke here in *Italy*, it will instantly bee seconded with a Mate. I speake nothing of the Persons of the Duke of *Sauoy*, the Constable d'*Esfigueres*, and Count *Mansfelt*, whose Reputation doth adde as much Weight unto this Side, as the Names of the Emperor and of the Pope unto the other; nor what may bee expected of the King of *Denmark* and *Sweeden*, of many Princes and States in *Germany*, and *Bethlem Gabor*, who doe expect a favourable Coniuncture to take ther Advantage, because all these are Parties Casualles. But finding really that ther is no great Oddes in the Number, nor in any collaterall Circumstances, I suppose that the Justice of the Cause, will weigh the Ballance downe to the right Side.

I have lately aduertised your Lordship of the victorious March of the Marquis *De Couures* through *Rætia* and the *Valtelina*, which truly may be tearmed a *Veni, vidi, vici*; never was there so difficult an Enterprise undertaken more boldly, and executed more happely. It was *Salmacida spolia, sine sanguine & sudore*. The Leagues speake no more of the *Valtelina*, but resolve to set uppon *Noua* and the Fort *Di Fuentes*, which are Members of the State of *Milan*, and from thence to open ther Way *ad Fluvium Ticinum*, and ther to joyne with the Army of *Piedmont*. But to leaue these minor Propositions, which are nothing els but Informations touching Persons and Actions, I will proceede to confirm my maior or general Proposition before mentioned, and thence collect and obserue what I thinke in

my poore Judgment to bee of best Importance in a publique Survey. Some are of Opinion, that seeing the *Grifons* are now enfranchised, the *Valtellina* reconquered, and the Passage secured, the League should moue no farther, hauing arriued to ther *Terminus ad quem*: but these Men light uppon Businesse by chance, not by reflection, they know the Reserts and Falls of Businesse, but know not how to examine or debate Matters; they doe not distinguish well betwixt the Cause and the Occasion of a Warre. It is true that the Oppression of the *Grifons* did give Occasion vnto the Princes of the League to take Armes for the Redintigration of their Friends, Neighbors, and Allyes into their Estate and Libertye; but the true Cause was a Desire in them to stopp a Torrent of Ambition and Violence, which having deborded of late Yeares in many Places of Christendom, did threaten an Inundation uniuersall. Hitherto they have but drained the Low Grounds which they did find overflowne, but if they doe not prouide likewise to stopp the Breaches and to weaken the Force of that Torrent which doth so often swell about and beyond his Bounds, all that they have done is to no Purpose. This being the true End unto which the League doth ayme, namely, the reducing of the contrary Partye unto such a Moderation and Modesty that all other Princes and States may quietly and peaceably enjoy that, which God hath given them. It is to be thought they will not lay downe ther Armes untill they have gained that Poynt, which was principally purposed. A Physitian doth not retire from his Patient as soone as he hath deliuered him from a Feauer, but doth continewe to fortifye and strengthen him for feare of recidiration: so is it with the *Rhetian* Body, they are now deliuered of the Calenture which hath tormented them three Years together, but *parum distat ab ægroto qui tantum sanus est*; and if they bee not comforted with stronge Cordialls, and potent Preservatives, they may soone relapse, and their Relapse proue irremediable. It is further obserued of Leagues in Generall, that as they bee longe before they can resolue uppon the Undertaking of a Warre, because euery Party interessed doth fore cast future Dangers and Inconueniences: So are they



they commonly as longe in resolving upon a Peace; the Reason wherof is, that euery one in Particular doth infold within the Common Cause his owne priuate Interests, so that when the principall Poynt for which Armes are taken is capable of Accommodation, the collaterall Respects doe imbroyle this Negotiation. Lastly, for the Armes of the present League it must bee considered, that although they doe not appeare openly in the Cause of the *Palitinate*, yet they doe take that Businesse to Heart as much as wee doe, for they know that if *Germany* bee oppressed, *Italy* shall suffer, and therefore that they may have a faire Pretence to weaken the common Enemye, they will keepe open this Issue of the *Valtelina*, and contribute to Count *Mansfelt*, to ease them by way of Diversion.

But to stopp the Course of these Proceedings, the Pope, at the earnest Entreatye of the *Spaniards*, hath undertaken to treaté an Accommodation; and to that Purpose he hath designed his Nephew the Cardinall *Barbarini* to goe *Legatus a Latere* into *France*, and if neede bee, likewise into *Spaine*, and he hath lately dispatched in Dilligence a Gentleman of his Chamber Signor *Piccolommeni*, to let the *French King* know of the comminge of his Nephew, and to desire that all Armes may be suspended untill his arrivall. But my Opinion is, the World is now growne so well acquaynted with these *Spanish* and *Italian* Treatyes, that it dares trust them no more then one would doe a broken Tooth, or a Foote out of Joynt.

*Padre Giacinto Natta* is the principall Director of this Legation, and he doth receave all his Instructions from the Duke of *Bauaria*, whereby it may easily bee imagined to whom the Pacquet is principally addresssed, it being well knowne that the Worke of that Capuchin is, and hath bine some Years, to procure the two Crownes of *France* and *Spaine* to joyne with the Emperor, the Pope and *Bavaria*, in an uniuerfall Extirpation of Heretiques.

If your Lordship peruse these fruitlesse Collections, they may happelie serue you as a Modell to decipher in Part the vast Body of Affayres now on foote in *Europe*, but no otherwise, then the  
*Stadium*

*Stadium* or *Vestigium* did the Philosopher in his Search of those large Dimensions of *Hercules*. I should bee glade to improve this poore Talent of mine, by looking farther, and flying at an other Marke; but wanting Winges I must needs fall to Grounde, being not able to subsist where I am only with Bread and bare Walles.

There is an Agencye of *Savoy* procured by my Lord Duke of *Buckingham* for one Mr *Clarke*, who as yet appeares not, on whom as it is thought some Diuerfion might easlye bee wrought for that Prouince, and I am much affected to serue the Kinge in such a Place where my Master hath bine trayned so longe, and is both able and willinge to give me his best Instructions in the due Execution thereof. May it please your Lordship to favour this Motion so farre as to speake in my behalfe to the Kinge, and my Lord Duke, and withall, if this Sute succede, to acquaint my Lord Ambassador here, that this was done without me, only by the good Advice and Care of some honorable Friends of mine in *England*, which will bee both a Means to augment his Lordships Favour towards me; as allso to inable me the better for this particular Designe.

I must here, after a tedious and unmannerly Discourse, in all Humilitye craue leaue to kisse your Lordships Handes, and rest,

Your Lordships most Obedient

Venice, Feb. 28.

St. No. 1625.

Poore Kinsman and Servant,

FRANCIS GREVILL.

### *Instructions touching the Bill for free Trade.*

THE Comitties from the House of the Commons sate five whole Afternoones upon the Bill. There was a great Concourse of Clothiers and Marchants of all Parts of this Realme, and

and especially of *London*, who were soe devided, as that all the Clothiers, and in Effect, all the Marchants of *England* complayned grevously of the Ingrossing and Restraint of Trade by the rich Marchants of *London*, as being to the Undoing or great Hindrance of all the Rest. And of *London* Merchants three Parts named in the same Complaint against a fourth Part; and of that fourth Part some standing stiffly for their Companye, yet repined at other Companyes; divers Writings and Informations were exhibited on both Parts. Learned Counsell was heard for the Bill, and divers of the principall of the Aldermen of *London* against it. All Reasons exactly weyghed and examined, the Bill, together with the Reasons on both Sides, was returned and reported by the Committies to the House; where, at the third Reading it was three several times debated; and in the End passed with great Consent and Applause of the House, (as being for the exceeding Benefitt of all the Land) scarce forty Voices dissenting from them.

The most principall Reasons for the Enlargement of Trade were these:

I. *Naturall Righte.*

**A**LL free Subjects are borne inheritable, as to Heir-Land, so also to the free Exercise of their Industrie in those Trades whereto they apply themselves, and whereby they are to live. Marchandizing being the Cheife and richest of all other, and of greater Extent and Importance then all the Rest; it is against the natural Right and Liberties of the Subjects of *England*, to restrain it into the Hands of some few, as now it is. For although there may be now some five or six thousand Persons (counting Children and Prentizes) free of the several Companies of Marchants in the Whole; yet apparent it is, that the Governors of these Companies, by their monopolizing Orders, have so handled the Matter, as that the Masse of the whole Trade of all the Realme is in the Hands of some



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some two Hundred Persons at the most: The Rest serving for a Show only, and reaping small Benefit.

### III. Judgment of Parliament.

The Lawe stands for it! And a Statute made the twelfth of Henry the Seventh, never repealed by Parliament; only restrained by Charters since procured; (by which Meanes all the Monopolies have had their Originall.) And the first of these Charters since the making of that Statute, was purchased in the End of the Reigne of Henry the Seventh, at what Time *Empton* and *Dudley* were Instruments of wronging and oppressing the People: Yet doth in no wise restraints the Liberty of free Trade, but expressly allow it, with Reference unto that very Act in the twelfth of his Reigne; and so it continued untill the Reigne of *Elizabeth*.

### III. Example of Nations.

The Example of all other Nations generally in the World, who avoide in themselves, and hate in us this monopolizing Way of Traffique. For it cannott be otherwise accounted by then a Monopoly, when so large a Comoditye is restrained into the Hands of so few in Proportion, to the Prejudice of all other, who by Law and naturall Right might have Interest therein. And whereas some alledge that there are like Companies in other Countries, as of the *East-Indies* in *Lisbone*, the Howse of Contrectiō there, the *Fontego* at *Venice*, the *Treinsana* at *Norimberg*: These Allegations are either untrue or unproper. These are Places of Assembly for Merchants, and to consult for good Orders in all other Countries, but without Restraint of Trading from any Man. And how Marchandize by this Freedom doth flourish in other Nations, and principally in the Low Countries more then in ours, it is apparent to all the World.

### IV. Wealth.

The Encrease of the Wealth generally of all the Land, by the ready Vent of all our Comodities to the Marchants at higher Rate. For where many Buyers are, Ware growes deerer; and they that buy



buy deere at Home, must sell deere Abroade. This will also make our People more industrious.

V. *Equal Distribution.*

The more equall Distribution of the Wealth generally of all the Land, which is a great Stability and Strength to the Realme, even as the equal distributing of the Nourishment in a Man's Body. The Contrarie whereof is inconvenient in all Estates; and often tymes breakes out into Mischiefe, when too much Fulnes doe puffe up some with Presumption, and too much Emptines leaves the rest in perpetual Discontent, the mother of Desire of Innovations and Troubles; and this is the proper Fruit of Monopolies: Example hereof may be *London*, and the rest of the Realme. The Customes and Imposts of *London* come to 110000 Thousand Pounds a year and of the rest of the whole Realme but to 1700 Thousand.

VI. *Strenghte.*

The Encrease of Shipping, and especially of Marriners, in all Parts of *England*, and how greatly the Marriners of the Realme have decayed in all Places of late Tyme, and with how great Danger of the State in these late Warrs, is known to them that have byn ymployed in that kinde of Service; who doe also attribute the Cause thereof to this Restraint of Trade; free Traffique being the Breeder and Maintainer both of Shippes and Marriners, as by memorable Example in the Lowe Countries may be seene.

VII. *Profitt of the Crowne.*

The Increase of the Customes and Subsidies to the King, which doth necessarily follow the Increase of Forraine Traffique and Wealth, is to be considered: And they which saie otherwise will dare to saie any Thing. These Reasons are in great Parte sett downe in the Act of the twelfth of *Henry* the Seventh; other particular Reasons there are, which this present Tyme doth yeild.

VIII. *Opportunitie Abroad.*

Under our gracious *Salomon*, a Prince of Wisdom and Peace, wee are like to be in League or Amity with all Nations; whereby as there will be greater Freedome Abroade to trade to all Places; so

will be fitt to have greater at Home for all Persons to trade. This Alteration of Tymess may make that fitt nowe, which in Tymess of Hostility might have seemed unfitt.

IX. *Necessitie at Home.*

And as there will be greater Opportunity Abroade, so also much more greater Necessitie at Home; for what ells shall become of Gentlemens younger Sonnes, who cannot live by Arms when there are no Warrs, and Learning-Preferments are common to all, and meane: So that nothing remains fitt for them, save only Marchandize? (And such is the Use of all other polittique Nations) unless they turn Serving-men; which is a poore Inheritance.

Divers other Reasons they have to continew the Restraint of Trade, the which we answere as followeth:

I. *Imputation to the State.*

**I**T is a Taint to the Kinge and State, that theise restrained Companies should be called or counted *Monopolies*: And by this Act we justifie and strengthen the Complaint of the *Hainse* Townes and other Nations against the State, for suffering such Companies.

ANSWER.

The same Reason doth justifie all the Monopolies that ever were. It is no Touch to the State if Abuses creepe in; but if Reformation desired by Parliament be denied. But surely this Taint cann no waye attaint his Majestie, who hath declared himselfe a just Enimye to all theise unjust Monopolies.

II. *Not Monopolies.*

These Companies are not Monopolies: For a Monopoly is when Libertie of Selling, dew to all Men by Right, is restrayned to one, with Prejudice of all other.

ANSWER.

The Name of Monopolye, though taken originally from Personal Unity, yet is fitly extended to all improporciable Pawcity of the Sellers in regarde of the Ware which is sold. If ten Men had the  
only

only Saile of all the Horfes of *England*, this were a Monopolye; much more the Companie of Marchants Adventurers; which, in Effect, are not above two Hundred Persons, have the managing of two third Partes of the Clothing of this Land, which might well maintaine many Thousand Marchants more. And with how great Prejudice this is sondry waies to all the Land, let one Example suffice; let the late Crie of all the Clothiers of *England* testifie, and the utter Overthrow of infinite poore Persons which live by them and in their Workes: For the Clothiers having no Utteraunce of Cloth but to the Marchants Adventurers, they, by Complott among themselves, will buy but at what Tyme, what Quantity, and what Price themselves list; whereby the Clothiers are faine often to retorne with Losse to laie their Clothes to pawne, to slack their markt, to the utter Undoing of their poore Workemen, their Wives and Children.

III. *Keeping up our Commodities.*

These Companies keepe upp the Price of our Commodities Abroad, by avoyding an over-glutt of our Commodities in Places whereto they trade. And this Experience doth witnesse; for our Cloth is solde of late Yeres much deerer then in former Tymes: Whereas contrary wise, when Trade is free, many Sellers will make more cheape, and of lesse Esteeme.

ANSWER.

It is true that all Monopolies keep up their Commodities for their owne private Lucre; but they do it unjustly, and to the Discontent of all other Men: Which have been the Cause of so many Edicts of the Empire against the Company of Marchants Adventurers, (which hath driven them so often to shift their Marts) and it is the Cause that our Marchants are so universally hated; no other Christian Nation either using or enduring such restrained Companies in Matters of Marchandize. Howbeit, both by Reason and Experience we may conjecture, that there is no great Probability that if Trade be made free our Commodities will much abate in their Price Abroade. For the Marchants must first buy their Commodities



at Home, and where many Buyers are Ware will grow dearer; and buying deere at Home, he must sell deere Abroade. For it is not true that there will be greater Glutt of our Commodities in Forraine Partes: The Sellers will be more, but the Ware sold will be much the same; especially in those principall Commodities which grow out of the Land. It is the Store of the Commodities and Marchandize, not the Multitude of the Marchants, which doe make Things cheaper: Besides, when Trade is free, it is likely that many young Men will seeke out new Places, and trade further for greater Benefit; whereby the Glutt in the former Places will be lesse. The Weakness of their Argument of Experience is plaine, for not Cloth only, but all other Things in the World have risen greatly in Price. And in *Fraunce*, where there is no Company, all Kerseys are sold at an exceeding good Price, and as deere in Proportion as Broad Cloth by the Marchants Adventurers. But if it were so that they kept upp our Commodities Abroad, so do they by the same Skill Forraine Commodities at Home. So a few rich Men do gaine by their Out-going, and the whole Land doth lose much more by their Returne. They saie they gaine litle by the Returne of Forraine Commodities. There lieth a Mistry: For it is trew, and will be avowed uppon certaine Knowledge, that uppon the Arrivall of the Marchants Adventurers Fleet, many of the Commodities on the other Syde are raised at least Twenty in the Hundred; for so do they quit one Wrong with another: But hereby the Losse falleth still heavy on the Subjecte, who is damnified now againe in the Commodities returned, as he was before in the In-grossing of those that were issued.

IV. *Venting all now.*

The Companies that are now, do vent all the Commodities of the Land; and yet are they hardly able to live one by another.

ANSWER.

It is not all vented which the Land might spare; and that by reason of the Courses held by theise Companyes to their owne excessive Gain, and certain Losse of all other Men. Beside, when Traffique shall

shall flourish with us as it doth in other Countries where Trade is free, and namely in the Lowe Countries, who thereby have supported the huge Charges of their long Warrs; Things marchantable will increase daily by this Encouragement to the Subject's Industrie, even as they doe there. For naturall Commodities are more then trebled by accessse of Art and Industry; and howsoever, yet the Devision of Wealth will be more equall: For now, by plotting of the Governors of these Companies, some few overgrowne Men devoure the Wealth, and make merry, whilst the Rest, even of their own Company, want and weepe.

V. *Prentisshipp necessary.*

This Act makes it lawfull to become Marchants without Prentisshipp; which is an Injurie to them that have served, and a Hurt to them that serve not; who venturing unskillfully, shall be sure of Losse.

ANSWER.

The Losse of new Marchants, it may be as much the Desire as the Feare of the Objectors: But they that have served, have Skill for their Labours; and they that have not served, must be at charge of a Factor, or joyne with their Friends, and learne Skill by them; or at leastwise adventure their Stocks with other Men, after the Fashion of the Low Countries, and other Places where Trade doth flourish. By the same Reason also young Gentlemen might be kept from their Lands, for want of Skill to governe them.

VI. *Dissolving the Companies.*

This Act, by enlarging of Companies, and giving free accessse to all Men, doth in Effect dissolve them; for hardly are they able to governe those that are in already; and where Government faileth, there will be certain Confusion.

ANSWER.

This Act dissolveth no Companye, taketh awaie no good Government: Those Orders in Companies which tendeth to Monopolyes, that abrogateth Orders for necessarie Contribution to publique Charges; it establisheth the Rest, it leaves as it found them, neither in worse

worse Estate, nor better. It is Weaknes to saie, that a greater Multitude cannott be governed; for so neither Kings in their Dominions and Subjects, nor Citties in their Amplitudes should increase. If for Matter of Marchandize there were no such Government at all, no more then there is for our Marchants in *Fraunce*, or hath bene in *Storde* \* for divers Yeres past, or then there is in the Low Countries, (where are the best Marchants in the World) yet provident Men would consult and joyne together in that which were for their common Benifitt, Ease and Safetie. Such Companyes there are in other Countries, but no such Monopolies as ours are.

VII. *Joynd Stocke necessary.*

This Act is against trading in a Joynt-Stock together, which, in longe and dangerous Voiages, as to *Mosko*, and especially to the *East-Indies*, is necessary; for in that Voiage one alone will not adventure: Besides, the Marchant must keepe some Port there among the Infidells.

ANSWER.

It is true that it is fitt to trade to the *East-Indies* in a Joynt-Stock; and so doe the *Hollanders*. This Act therefore doth not forbidd Men to trade in a Stock if they list, and see it fitt; only forbiddeth to constraine Men to trade against their Wills; which heretofore in other Trades, and at this Day in the *Muscovy* Trade doth turn to the great Damage, both of the Common wealth and of particular Persons so constrained to trade. The *Moscovie* Companye consisteth of eight Score, or thereaboutes; hath fifteene Directors, who mannage the whole Trade. Theise lymitt to every Man the Proportion of Stock which he shall trade for; make one Purse and Stock of all; and consigne it all into the Hands of one Agent at *Musko*: And so againe, at their Returne, into the Hands of some Agent at *London*; who sell all, and give such Accounts as they please. This is a strong and shamefull Monopoly; or Monopoly in a Monopoly, both Abroad and at Home. A whole Companye by this meanes is become one Man, who alone hath the uttering of all the Commodities of so great a Country. The Inconveniences which have ensued thereof, are three. First,

By

\* *Sic Orig.*



By this meanes they vent lesse of our Commodities; for by Reason of their own Agent they vent all through his Hands; by which meanes the *Hollanders* have come in betwene us; who trading thither in severall, and with our owne *English* Commodities (which are most proper for that Countrey) utter much more then our owne Marchants, and make quicker Returne: Which hath occasioned manie *Englishmen* to come into trade with these *Hollanders*, to the Detriment of the Kings Majestie in his Customes. And by this meanes Trade is like utterly to decaie: For the *Hollanders* have growen in short Space from twoe Shippes to above twentie. This Spring they are gone to *Muscovy* with neere thirty Shippes, and our Men but with seven. The like fell out in the *Turkey* Companye, when they constrained Men to a Joynt-Stock; since the Breaking of which Combination, there goes four Shippes for one. Secondly, In their Returne with *Muscovy* Commodities, they greatly prejudice the Common wealth and State: Example in Cordage, which they bring home in such Scarcety, and sell so deerely, as they have raised it in short time from twenty Shillings to thirty Shillings; yea, to sell their Wares deere, they have contracted with the Buyers not to bring more of that Commoditie in three Yeares after. Thirdly, This is hurtfull to all the yonge Marchants of their owne Companye, which cannott forbear their Stocke as now they doe, and desire to employ their owne Industrie in mannaging it; having often tymes bene all dampnified by the Breaking of the generall Factor.

VIII. *Publique Charges.*

In divers Places, as namely in *Turkey* and *Muscovy*, the Marchants are at Charges in sending Presents, in maintayning Embassadors, Consuls and Agentes, which are otherwise also necessarie for the Service of his Majestie and the State: These Charges are now defraied by these Companies.

ANSWER.

This Matter is expressly provided for by this Act, that all that trade to those Places, shall be contributorye to those Charges.

IX. *The*

IX. *The now Marchantes will give over.*  
 The like Attempt for free Trade was in *Anno Dom. 1588.* at what Tyme Libertie was graunted to all Men to buy Clothes at *Westminster.* The Merchants Adventurers gave over to trade at all, whereby the Cloth of the Land lying on the Clothiers Hands, they were forced by Petition to get the former Restraint restored.

## ANSWER.

This is true; and the same Mischiefe were like to ensue againe. For it is said, that the same Pollicy is nowe in speech in their Company. But the Tymes being well altered from Warr to Peace, this Mischiefe would be but short, and other Marchants soon growe to take their Places, if they should (as being rich they may) forsake them. But it were to be trusted, that this Stomachfulness being to their Losse, would not long continew: Howsoever, it doth not stand with the Dignity of Parliament either to feare or favour the Forwardness of any Subject.

X. *The Rich would eate out the Poore.*  
 If poore Marchants should trade together with the Rich, the Rich beyond the Seas would buy out the Poore, being not able to sell at the Instant to make themselves Savers; and so here would growe a Monopolye *ex facto.*

## ANSWER.

This Reason sheweth thus much, That a crafty Head with a greedy Hearte and a rich Purse, is able to take Advantage at the Neede of his Neighbour; which no Man doubteth of. But if Difficulties and Dishonesties should deterr Men from Actions, and not rather increafe their Diligence and Wariness; then should there be no trading at all in any sorte.

XI. *Strangers will eate out the English.*  
 If all Men may be Marchants, the Sonnes of Strangers denyfed will in tyme eat out the naturall Marchants of this Kingdome.

## ANSWER.

If the Sonnes of Strangers become naturall *English*, why should they not reape a Subjects Parte? and more they cannot reape. If  
 any

any further Mischiefe should growe, it might at all Tymes by a new Act be easely remedied.

XII. *All Men may goe forth of the Realme.*

If Trade be free for all Men, then all may become Marchants; and under that Pretext any Man may goe out of the Realme: Which will be good Newes for the Papiſts.

ANSWER.

This Concept is weak; for so it may be said that all Men may become Marriners, and so quit the Kingdome: And it is provided for by the expresse Words of the Bill, that they may not go out of the Realme, but for their present Traffique.

XIII. *Against London.*

This Act is against *London*, and the Wealth thereof; which is necessarie to be upheld, being the head Cittie of the Kingdome.

ANSWER.

Naye, it is for *London*, unlesse we will confine *London* into some two Hundred Mens Purſes. The Rest of the Cittie of *London*, with the whole Realme, sue mainly for this Bill, and cry they are undone if it should be crossed.

XIV. *Hurte to the Kinges Customes.*

It will be prejudicial to the King in his Customes, who, in other Ports, will easelier be deceived then here at *London*.

ANSWER.

Nothing can be more cleere, then that as Transporte and Returne of Marchandize will increase by this Act, so also the Kings Customes which depend hereon must withall encrease. And if Doubt be made thereof, the Marchants doe offer, so this Bill may pass, that the King be pleased to lett his Custome to Farme, to give Five Hundred Pounds a Year more, *communibus Annis*, than hath bene made these five last Years. The Deceaving of the King is now, when for want of Freedome, Men are enforced to purchase the Vent of their Commodities out of Creekes, because they cannot be admitted to publique Trade. Whereas otherwise, they should have no Reason to hazard their whole Estate for the Saving of so



reasonable a Dutie. As for Faults in Officers, they may as well happen in *London* as in any other Place.

XV. *Decay of greate Shippes.*

During Freedome of Trade small Shippes would be employed to vent our Commodities, and so our great Shippes, being the Guard of the Land, would decaye.

ANSWER.

It is Warr, more then Traffique, that maintaineth great Shippes; and therefore if any Decaie grow, it will be cheifely Peace, which the Wisdome of the State will have Regarde of. But for so much as depends on Traffique, no doubt the Number of smaller Shippes will grow by this Freedome; and especially Marriners, whereof the Want is greatest, and of whom the smaller Vessells are the proper Nurseries. But that the great Shippes will decaie, doth not necessarily follow: For the maine Trade of all the white Clothes, and and much Clothes of other Kinds, is shipped from the Porte of *London*, and will be still; it being the fittest Porte of this Kingdom for *Garwayne* and the Lowe Countries, where the Marchants Adventurers trade only lieth, who shall have litle Cause to alter their Shippinge. Then for the *Levant* Seas, *Muscovie*, and the *East-Indies*, whither wee trade with great Shippes, the employing of them will be still requisite in the Marchants Discretion: For otherwise, both the Commoditie of the Returne will be lesse, and the Adventure too greate in so rich Ladinge, not to provide for more then ordinary Assurance against the common Hazard at Sea.

Other particular Reasons there are for Restraint of Trades, in Favour of certaine Companies.

XVI. *Marchants Adventurers.*

The Companie of the Marchants Adventurers is very ancient, and they have bene heretofore great Credit to our Kinge, for Borrowing of Money in the Low Countries and *Germany*.

ANSWER.

ANSWER.

The Company indeed is as antient as *Thomas of Beckett*, their Founder, and may still continew. Their Restraining of others, (which this Bill doth seeke to redresse) is not so antient, and was disallowed by Parliament in the Twelfth of *Henry* the Seventh; which Act stands impeached by particular Charter, but never by Consent of the Realme repealed. But in Truth, this Company being the Spring of all other Monopolies, and engrossing the grand staple Commoditie of Cloth into so few Hands, deserves least Favour. The Credit to the King hath bene in the Cloth, (and not in their Persons) which will be as much hereafter as heretofore.

XVII. *Muscovy Companye.*

The *Muscovy* Company, by Reason of the chargeable Inventions of that Trade fifty two Yeares since, and their often great Losse, was established by Act of Parliament in the Eighth of *Queen Elizabeth*.

ANSWER.

The chargeable Invention had bene a Reason worthy of Respect thirty or forty Yeares agoe, when the Inventors were living, and their Charge not recompenced by countervailable Gaine; which since that hath bene; their Losse hath bene their owne Faulte, in employinge one Factor, who hath abused them all. Private Acts of Favour, when the Cause thereof is ceased, are often revoked. Howbeit, this Bill dissolveth no Company, only enlargeth them, and abrogateth their unjust Orders for Monopolye.

*An Argument unanswerable.*

Another Argument here is, not to be answered with Reason, but by their Integritye and Love of their Countrye, who shall be assaulted with it. In Sum, the Bill is a good Bill, though not perhaps in all Pointes so perfect as it might be; which Defect may be soone remedied and supplied in some future Parliament.

The Marchants Adventurers alledge, Freedome of Trade will overthrow good Shippinge; for that all Men being Marchants,

they will transporte their Clothes in smaller Parcells for saving of Tyme, and coming oftener to the Markett.

ANSWER.

Hereunto wee Answer: It will not decay the Navigation; for that the maine Trade of all, the white Clothes, and much other Kinde of Clothe, is shipped from the Port of *London*, and will be still, it being the fittest Port of this Kingdome for *Germany* and the Lowe Countries, where the Marchants Adventurers Trade onely lieth. And the great Shipping which heretofore have been employed, most of the Marchants which desire Libertie of Trade are interested in the same; who, no Doubt, will have a speciall Regard to employ their own great Shipping for their own Profitts, before they will procure any smaller; though it may be, the greate Fleets hereby will not be used as before: But thereat the poor Clothier, and all that live by him, will finde Ease; and the Kinge and State freed from many former Complaintes. There is no question but that hereby great Shippes will be set at worke, in more ample Manner by a Generallitie then before: For that the Marchants Adventurers doth covenant with the Owners and Masters, to take in no Marchants Goods but of their Companye, being but two Hundred Traders at the moste; besides all Trades are open to our Nation, wherby Shippes of all Sortes may be employed. to a more Increase of Marriners then in Tymes past, as the Masters of the Trinity House will affirme.

But the Marchants Adventurers alledge, That by their Skill and Government the Cloth of this Kingdome is vented.

ANSWER.

We deny that: For it is the Necessitie of the People of those cold Countries, with the Living they gain out of the Workmanship of our Cloth, which causeth the great Utterance of the same, and not their Pollicy: For by late Experience at *Stoad*, where they have had no Government these four or five Yeares past, the Cloth hath had as good vent as before; and our Nation better Wellcome to the People, who many Tymes before opposed their Misgovernment



ment in Restraining the Trade, which of late Yeares the better Part of the trading Marchants procure from some of your Honors.

But the Marchants Adventurers alledge, Libertie of Trade will much damnifie the Kings Customes.

ANSWER,

This, in equall Judgment, is not like; for the more ample Trade, the more Commodities are transported and returned; by Means whereof the Kings Customes will be advanced. And if it shall please his Majestie to lett his Customes to Farme, there shall be five Thousand Pounds a Yeare paid more then hath bene, *communibus Annis*, for five Yeares last past.

They say,

That Libertie of Trade will be prejudiciall to the Commonwealth,

ANSWER,

It is verie absurd, by common Experience of the Lowe Countries, where free Entercourse of Trade is maintayned: What intolerable Charges have they borne for the Maintenance of their Warrs, and yet continew a most flourishinge Estate? The like in *Fraunce*, *Spayne*, *Italy*, and in the State of *Venice*; neither is there any Nation els that doth impeach their Subjects from their lawful Trade of Marchandize, as the Marchants Adventurers would have it.

But that the Company of Marchants Adventurers are hurtful to the Common wealth, it shall appeare by theise Reasons following: First, They would retaine in their sole Handling two third Parts of all the maine Clothing of *England*; they being not above two Hundred Traders; and of them, not above Fifty Persons that manage the Bulke of the whole Trade; who by their Orders have heretofore ruled the Clothiers, to sell when they will buy, and Restraining their Company to buy any more then they are lymitted.

To the Beating downe of the Price of Cloth.

To the Damage of the Grower of Woolle.

To the Hinderance of Cloth-making.

To the Overthrow of the Poore, who are not set on worke so amply, as otherwise they should be.

To

To the exceeding Prejudice of many other Marchants, that gladly would trade with them.

To the greate Prejudice of the King, in his Majesties Customes.

Again, It is alleaged by the Marchants Adventurers, That this Libertie of Trade will be Occasion to abase the Prices of our Clothes beyond the Seas, and so overthrow Clothing in *England*.

ANSWER.

It is verie unlike; for that the more Buyers there be in *England* at the Markett the Clothiers sell deerer: And if at the first any unskilfull Marchant shall buy deere here, and sell for lesse Profit than the Marchant Adventurer, it will give them just Cause to learne by that Experience to mannage this Trade better, or give it over. And if lesse Gaine will content him then a richer Trader, the oftener he cometh to the Markett, the deerer and more abundantly our Commodities are vented. And in the meane Tyme, their cheape selling beyond the Seas will discourage all Forraine Cloth-making; whereby ours will continew in the farr better Estimation. And the more convenient Place our Cloth is brought unto for the Marchant Buyer, the greater Price may they afford to give for the same; when as so much the lesse Charge everie Man is at by Transportation of the same to his Habitation. And in like sorte will all Forraine Commodities be the cheaper unto the Marchants; and so consequently to the whole Commons of this Kingdome.

But it is like, the Marchants Adventurers will alleadge, the like Attempt for free Trade was in *Anno Domini* 1588, when there was Libertie by Authoritie for all Men to buy Clothes at *Westminster*.

ANSWER.

For Answer whereof we saie, That when that Libertie was granted, the Marchants Adventurers called their Companie together, making knowne what had passed, with great Perswation, that if the same Libertie should be continewed, it would be not only the Overthrow of them, but also of their Posteritie. Advising them, that, as they tendred the Good of themselves and their Posteritie, they should forbear to buy Cloth for a Tyme. And their Government

vernment being then so strict, they did accordingly. Only one Mr *Whitmore*, a rich Man of the Company, bought great Quantity of Cloth at that Tyme; who, for Breach of their foresaid Advising, they did not a litle maligne him to his dieing Daie. And Sir *Stephen Some* (at that Tyme) not free amongst them, buying a great Quantitie of Cloth, they meeting with the same at their Place of Trade, did so molest him, as he was forced to sell his Clothes to them, and forbear that Trade, and divers others by his Example.

And what they may now doe upon this Occasion, your Lordships may easily conjecture; which we humbly crave by your honourable Wisdomes may be prevented, by ratifying this worthie Act for free Trade.

A straggling or peddling Trade, without a certaine Abroad, we utterly disallowe; humbly craving, that more convenient navigable Places may be assigned for resident Mart Townes, fitt and well knowne of all Marchants for Trade. And hereby we shall prevent the subtill *Netherlanders*, that is the Worme creeping between the Barke and the Tree, maintayning their State and innumerable Navies by the Restraint of our Trade, and our selves to one or twoe Places.

The State hath ever had great Care that the Marchants of this Realme should so mannage their Trades, as still they should the better enrich this Kingdome; and manye strait Lawes hath bene made for Transportation of Coynes; and yet much is conveyed away, and litle taken. And what is the chiefe Cause? Restrainte of Trades. For as Gaine is the Object of all Courses in Trades, so is the Exchange the Rule of all Marchants in their Trades. Therefore, when the Commodities of this Kingdome are transported forth more abundantly then the Forraine Commodities returned, the greater Overplus of Money resteth in the Marchants Hands unexchanged; and so consequently, the more Money the higher Exchange; and high Exchange causeth Importation of Money: And, *per Contra*, the Scarcity of Moneys beyond the Seas, begetteth low Exchange, and low Exchanges the great Exportation of all manner of Coynes, to the exceeding Damage of this Kingdom.



*An Extract of Dr Worthington's Letter to Mr S. H.*

Jan. 24. 1661.

—THE Remainder of my Letter is to acquaint you with a strange remarkable Story, which I hearing of a while since, I procured one to write to his Friend in *Kendall* about it; and the Account he gives is in this Letter.

SIR, I receiv'd yours; in Answer to which I have thought fit to give you this Account of the Businesse you write about. The Woman (who is about a Mile from this Town) about fifteen Years since buried a Child whom she dearly loved; and returning Home, expressed her Discontent in these Words: *God has now done the Worst He can to me.* She continued well a good while after; but within a Year fell into a deep Melancholy, which brought her into that Condition wherein she now is, and in which she hath continued fourteen Years. I went about a Year since to see her, and had this Account of her, besides what my own Eyes informed me of her. She eats not any thing, only two or three Spoonfuls of Milk each Day before twelve a Clock, (for after that Hour she will take nothing.) She hath no Evacuations. Her Body is much worn, (except her Face, which is somewhat fleshy and fresh) and as cold as Clay. She moves not ordinarily, but as she is moved by others. Yet twice she leapt out of Bed, and was met out of the Chamber upon her Hands and Feet; which was occasioned, the one Time by an extraordinary Noise of a Hue and Cry passing by; and the other Time, by a sudden Breaking-in of Light, the Curtain of the Window falling down. When I was with her, one took her by the Hand, and she endeavoured to bite him. She sometimes groans much. There is an unpleasing Smell comes from her; yet not so bad as might be expected. They have formerly had Physicians; and (least any Meanes should be wanting, right or wrong) Popish Priests and Conjurers; who have told them, 'tis a meer Corps, kept in its Form by the Power of the Devill; and that it may

may continue so till Doomsday. I have advised her Husband to take two or three Physicians, and make what Observations they can of her, and send them to some eminent Physicians in *London*, &c. for their Judgment of her, and Advice about her. But her Husband is carelesse, and she is scarce taken Notice of, nor spoken of hereabout. Sir, If in any Thing I may be farther serviceable to you in a farther discovery of her Condition, none shall be more ambitious to be commanded by you, than

*Kendall, (in Westmoreland)*  
May 28. 1661.

*Yours, &c.*

Thus have I given you a Transcript of that Letter. I suppose they are Poor, and therefore neglected the more. If you, or any worthy Persons to whom you communicate this Story, shall suggest any Particulars fit to be inquired of, I shall take Order that a Letter be sent about them to *Kendall*. So strange an Occurrence does not ordinarily happen. The Inquisitive and Ingenious may perhaps make good Use of this Occasion, &c.

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*A SPEECH made to the King at Versailles, the 15th of July, 1685, by the most Illustrious and most Reverend Daniel de Cofnac, Bishop of Valence and Die; accompanied by the Lords the Archbishops, and other Deputies of the Assembly Generall held at St Germain en Laye, in the Year aforesaid.*

*S I R E,*

**T**HIS is the second Time of my having the Honour to ad-dresse your Majesty, as the Mouth of the Clergy of your Realm. I know not what should be the Reason that I find myself this Day more surprized, and more out of Countenance, than I was the Time before. My Businesse was then to speak to the

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most Awful and most Great King of the Earth: I am speaking now to the very same King; but indeed to One who has since made Himself infinitely both more Great, and more Awful.

This Accession of Greatness, SIRE, proceeds not from the Number of your Conquests, from the Provinces you have brought under your Dominion, from your being now become the Umpire of *Europe*; It proceeds from that Zeal, and unslackned Application, which has made you constantly prefer the Design of reducing the pretended Reformists into the Church, before all human Considerations, before all Reasons of State whatsoever: It proceeds from that innumerable Multitude of Conversions which are made by your Orders, by your vigilant Care, by your liberal Disbursements.

'Tis upon this only Part of your admirable Life, that I now insist; for you are too Great, SIRE, to be shewn at Length, or represented all together in your full Dimensions. Nay, I see clearly it would be in vain for me to search into the former Ages; bootless to call to my Assistance all the encomiastick Monuments of the first and most holy Christian Emperours, I could never furnish myself from thence with Terms high enough to make out an adequate Expression of the Glory your Majesty has purchased in espousing the Interest of Religion.

But for Embellishments to set forth this Subject, what Need is there to look farther than the Subject itself. You release us, SIRE, from a Task wherein we, with our utmost endeavours, could never possibly have been thus happily successful. What you have already done for God's Glory, has advanced yours to so high a Pitch, that without need of Acclamations and Applauses from Men, it will subsist by itself alone.

To speak in [from] the true Spirit of the Church, (to whose Service you are engaged more particularly than any of the Sovereign Princes besides; since there is none can dispute with you the Right of being the Principal and most Illustrious of all her Children) to speak, I say, in [from] this Spirit, all that you have done hitherto, which has not been done for the Glory of God and of  
his



his Church, as your Triumphant over Enemies, your Re-establishing of the Royal Authority, attack'd on all Sides by so many factious Intrigues; your Wreſting it out of the Hands of thoſe that abuſed it; in fine, your Reducing all Things into their juſt Bounds; all theſe great Actions have, 'tis true, juſtly purchaſed you the Names of GREAT, INVINCIBLE, MASTER OF PEACE AND WAR; yet theſe Titles put all together, are, after all, but Praises that will laſt only as long as the Universe. But to be the Raiſer of the Catholic Religion; the Reliever of the Church of *France*, which you found oppreſſed, and have now made it the Wonder of other Churches; to be the Reſtorer of the Faith, and the Expeller of Heresy; theſe are ſolid Titles, immortal Titles, that will not only make their Way thorough the Thickneſs of all Times, but ſubſiſt ſtill when Time ſhall be no more.

What Glory is it for you, SIRE, what Satisfaction to us, that theſe Encomiums are proper and particular to yourſelf alone! Let any but look back as far as the laſt Age, and conſider the Troubles which the Proteſtants have cauſed; the Places of Strength which, with their Swords in their Hands, they have ſo often demanded, and as often obtained; how many Times they have forgotten themſelves to be Subjects; how many Times they have attempted the ſetting up another Eſtate within the Realm; how many Edicts of Pacification broken as ſoon as publiſhed; how many Acts of Oblivion violated by new Rebellions; and then ſay, Whether any other King can be found, who has not only eſtated the Catholic Religion in ſo Triumphant a Condition, as to have nothing left her of all her former Diſorders, ſave only a light Remembrance of them; but even delivered her from the very Fear of ever ſeeing again ſuch fatal Attempts, ſuch lamentable Times.

Pardon my Raſhneſs, SIRE, if I here make bold to recal the Names, and revive the Memory of your Predeceſſors; who as Victorious and Invincible as they were, yet it was ſeldom or never but they found their Laws too ineffectual, their Arms too weak, for the ſuppreſſing and beating down that Monster of Heresy. Should they now come back to this earthly Stage again (I mean in the Circum-

stances of Humanity, capable of Passions and Infirmities) what Sentiments would they have; whether of Joy, to find so happy an Alteration; or of Envy, to observe that You alone, in so short a Time, have well near consummated, what all of them put together had brought forward so little in so many Years Space? What would they say of this Genius of yours, so piercing, so capable of finding out Means (one while gentle, another while rough, always just) for enlarging the Empire of Jesus Christ! With what Satisfaction would they behold this pretended Religion (which in their Reign was called, *The Religion des Esprits forts*, i. e. of the ablest Heads, or strong-pated Men; and idolized, as I may say, by a Party of the most powerful Persons in the State, and of the finest Wits in the Court) now despised, suppressed, and reduced to so low a pass, as to see itself forlorn, and shaken off by all Persons of Sense for ever: And all this too without Violence, without Arms; nor yet near so much by the Force of your Edicts, as by the Influence of your exemplary Piety! With what Grief would they call to mind how affronted their Authority was, how disputed, how interrupted; and to how many Revolutions it was subject! With what Astonishment would they look upon yours, so absolute, and so established! What a vast Difference would they find betwixt the horrid Disturbance which they lived in, and the glorious Tranquility which you enjoy, and the Church too, through your Means!

But, as if it were not enough for you to have brought into the Bosom of the Church so many Millions of stray Souls that lived under your Empire, you have been pleased to make a Conquest of new Provinces, that you might there re-establish the Prelates, the Worship; the Altars. *Holland* and *Germany* have to no other End served for a Theatre of your Victories, than merely the making Jesus Christ to triumph in those Parts. And what ought we not to expect yet farther: *England* is upon the Point of offering to your Majesty one of the most glorious Opportunities that you can desire. The most Triumphant, the Valiantest, the Greatest of all the \*Monarchs of the Universe (before Heaven had bestowed your Majesty upon



upon Earth) wished that he might, for a Consummation of his Happiness, meet with, once in his life, some perillous Adventure worthy of him. The King of *England*, by the Need he will have of the Assistance and Support of your Arms, to defend himself in the Catholic Religion, will put you very shortly upon finding out the Means of affording him a Protection worthy of yourself.

Those unquiet and seditious Spirits, which in *Dauphine*, in *Vivarets*, in *Sevennes*, had these late Years fancied to themselves that the Times were just ready to turn on their Side; and, in their airy Projects, conceived some Hope of Foreign Succours; have cost you so little Trouble, and so little Time in Chastising them, that they deserve not to be remembered: And yet, they have withal occasioned you so much Glory in pardoning them, that they ought not to be forgotten. The Salvation you have procured for them has been all their Punishment; and you could no longer look upon them as disloyal Subjects, since the first Moment of their becoming loyal to God.

But, SIRE, among all the Great Things that your Zeal and your Justice have done for Religion, the Suppression of those Colleges, established without your Authority, where Youth was trained up in Error; and of those Universities, out of which issued so many false Preachers, for the spreading about so pernicious a Doctrine in *France*, and throughout all *Europe*; the Demolishing of those Temples, usurped and upheld in contempt of your Declarations, are doubtless, of all your Deeds, the most Profitable and the most Important. Nay, SIRE, those very Temples, the Number and Erection whereof was so fatal to the State, so disadvantageous and mortal to the Church, will, amidst their Ruins and Rubbish, leave for ever the most illustrious Monuments of your Piety. And as the Statues of those two last of the *Romans*, that were never carried abroad in the public Solemnities, did more Honour to their Names, than all the other Statues, that were exposed to open View in those pompous Processions, did to the Names of the Persons they represented; just so may it be said, that the Temples which are now no more to be seen, will make  
your



your Glory spread farther into future Ages, than all the Monasteries that have been founded, than all the Churches that have been erected, since the Beginning of the Monarchy, have done the Glory of all your Ancestors.

And now what remains there to be desired more, but that so fair a Season may last for ever. That a Work so happily carried on, may be brought to a compleat Perfection. And what Success ought we not to hope for from a Protector, who in so short a Time has brought over so many Souls unto our Party! What may we not promise to ourselves from a Prince, who never yet undertook any Thing which he effected not with good Success! Would it be just, O great God, nay, could it possibly be, that he who has always triumphed when he fought against People who have been only his particular Enemies, should not be able, with your Assistance, to accomplish the total Destruction of those, who so many Times have been both his Enemies and yours too!

How happy would our Assembly be, SIRE, if while they are receiving and tasting, in a higher Degree than the two other Bodies of your Realm do, the Fruits of this Suppression of Heresy, they could also, at the same Time, what by their Care, what by their Instructions, what by their Example, second more advantageously your Zeal and Piety! Or if, at least, as there redounds thence to them particularly more of Glory, so they could likewise make yours shine the brighter, by such grateful Acknowledgments as might bear Proportion to the Obligations you have laid upon them!

But, SIRE, it is I whom our Assembly has honoured with this Commission, when there were so many to make their Choice out of. May it not be said, that it was in them a kind of Oversight, to pitch upon a Person so little capable of answering their Expectation? I must freely acknowledge, that to the acquitting of myself well in the Performance of so glorious a Task, I should have said nothing but what was worthy of so great a King, and nothing whereof any other King besides could be worthy.

Printed in *French* at *Paris*, by *Fred. Leonard*, the King's Printer in Ordinary, and Printer to the Clergy of *France*: With Licence from the King.

*Temp. Jac. II.*

*The Lord Chancellor's Speech to the Lord Chief-Justice Herbert.*

*Mr. Serjeant Herbert,*

I Presume it is not disagreeable to any here, if I tell you, Sir, the King has sent for you to supply the Vacancy of the Chief-Justiceship of this Court, a Place perhaps of as great Concern and Importance to the King and his People as any in the Nation; but yet, Sir, his Majesty thinks you fit for it, though I know you have other Thoughts of yourself; and therefore this Place, (I must do you Right) conferred on you, is without your seeking; but, Sir, his Majesty's kind and gracious, and just Remembrances of the great Services and Sufferings of your Relations, and Father, with the blessed Martyr King *Charles I.* and with King *Charles II.* of ever blessed Memory, and also his Experience of the Services even in Times of great Danger, both in Storms at Sea and Land, of some other of your Relations, who have hazarded their Lives in the Service of the Crown.

These Things might justly create gracious Intentions in his Majesty's Breast towards you; but Sir, I am to acquaint you, it is not for the Merit which reflects on you from your Relations, that you are called to this Honour and Dignity; it is the long Experience of your Nobility, and Fidelity in an eminent Place of Judicature in his Kingdom, as well as in another; he is very well satisfied and pleased with your great Courage and Conduct in that Employment, and for that Reason hath now chosen you to serve him in this high and difficult Station.

Sir, I can tell you, by my own Experience, it is a Place of great Labour and Fatigue, but I bless God with those good Assistances I had, I was well able in some Measure to cope with those Difficulties; and indeed I had very good and great Assistances

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from the learned, ingenious, and therefore loyal Gentlemen at the Bar, who took a great deal of Care and Pains to make the Court understand what was the Benefit of their Clients, and not to prate impertinently to please the Audience; for if we meet with any such, they are sure to meet with a Rebuke; and therefore I cannot part with this Seat, where I have had the Honour to sit, without giving my hearty Thanks for their Assistance.

Besides this, I was assisted by a learned, grave and judicious Bench, and whom there remains two learned Gentlemen that sat on each Hand on me, who had long Experience of the Practice of the Court, and withall undaunted Courage to perform their Duty, and I cannot but remember that we sat together, in Times as full of Storms and Troubles, as and Madness, Faction and Rebellion could make them; yet through God's Blessing we were enabled to discharge the Duty of our Places so faithfully, that our Services were accepted, and graciously approved of by the late King, and our present Sovereign, whom I pray God long to continue and reign over us.

Nor must I forget that we had the Benefit of an ingenious and industrious Company of Officers, who behaved themselves in their several Places in all Diligence and Integrity.

Sir, I have a further Encouragement, for that you have the Promise of a gracious King, known to all the World never to have broken, and I may say it, and pardon the Expression, that dares not break his Word; he hath promised you his royal Countenance and Assistance; and if so, go on, be prosperous, suppress Vice, be sure to execute the Law to the utmost of his Vengeance upon all those that are known, and we have Reason to remember them, by the Name of Whigs, and you are also to remember the Name of Whigs, and you are also to remember the snivelling Trimmers; for you know what our Saviour *Jesus Christ* in the Gospel says, that they that are not for us, are against us.

Sir, when I have said this to you, pray give me Leave to put you in Mind of one Thing or two; I know you will be indulgent to the Gentlemen at the Bar who stand round about you; as you will be pleased with the Assistance, so you will listen to the Council of your Brethren upon the Bench; you will have a Care to give all fitting Countenance to those inferior Magistrates who serve the King



King faithfully, and desire to keep his Peace inviolate, though perhaps they have not arrived to that Perfection of Knowledge in the Law, which is your good Fortune of particular Education in your Profession.

In short Sir, I doubt not but you will take Care that the Process of the Court be neither injurious to the King, nor oppressive to the Subject ; which they will not be, if they be kept from being too numerous on the one Hand, and too dilatory on the other.

In fine Sir, as the Sum of all your Duty, fear God and honour the King ; but do your utmost Authority for the Suppression of those that are given to change.

I have now no more to trouble you with Sir, but am ready to administer you your Oath and deliver you your Writ.

*An humble Address to all the English Protestants in this Army.*

Gentlemen,

**N**EXT to the Duty you owe to God, which ought to be the principal Care of all Men, of your Profession, especially because you carry your Lives in your Hands, and often look Death in the Face : The second Thing that deserves your Consideration, is, the Service of your native Country, wherein you drew your first Breath, and breathed a free *English* Air : Now I would desire you to consider how well you comply in these two main Points, by engaging in this present Service.

Is it in the Name of God and for his Service, that you have joined yourselves with Papists, who will indeed fight for the Mass-Book, but burn the Bible, and who seek to extirpate the Protestant Religion with their Swords, because they cannot do it with their Arguments ; and will you be aiding and assisting to set up Mass-Houses, to erect that Popish Kingdom of Darkness and Desolation amongst us, and to train up all our Children in Popery ! How can you do

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these

these Things, and yet call yourselves Protestants ! And then what Service can be done your Country, by being under the Command of *French* and *Irish* Papists, and by bringing the Nation under a foreign Yoke ? Will you help them to make forcible Entry into the Houses of your Countrymen, under the Name of *Quartering*, directly contrary to *Magna Charta*, and the Petition of Right ! Will you be aiding and assisting to all the Murders and Outrages, which they shall commit by their void Commissions, which were declared illegal, and sufficiently blasted, by both Houses of Parliament, if there had been any Need of it : For it was very well known before, that a Papist cannot have a Commission, but by the Law is utterly disabled and disarmed ! Will you exchange your Birth-Right of *English* Laws and Liberties, for Martial and Club Law, and help to destroy others only to be eaten up at last yourselves. If I know you well, as you are *Englishmen*, you hate and scorn those Things : And therefore be not unequally yoked with idolatrous and bloody Papists : Be valiant for the Truth, and shew yourselves like Men.

The same Considerations are likewise humbly offered, to all the *English* Seamen, who have been the Bulwark of this Nation, against Popery and Slavery, ever since 1588.

*The Queen of Sweden's Letter to the Chevalier Torlon.*

SINCE you desire to know my Sentiments about the pretended Extirpation of Heresies in *France*, I am glad to tell you what they are upon so great a Subject. As I profess neither to fear nor flatter any Person whatsoever, so I will frankly avow to you that I am not much persuaded of the Success of this great Design, nor can I be pleased with it as a Thing very advantageous to the Holy Religion : On the contrary I foresee many Inconveniences which so novel a Proceeding will produce every where ; in good Faith, are you persuaded of the Sincerity of these new Converts ? I wish they

they may sincerely obey God and the King: but I am afraid of their Opinionativeness; and I would not have laid to my Charge all the Sacrileges which will be committed by these Catholick's Force by Missionaries, who treat our Holy Mysteries too Soldier-like. Military Men are a strange Sort of Apostles: I believe they are more proper to murder, to ravish and to pillage than to persuade; thus the Relations made of them (which are not to be doubted of) teach us, that they have discharged their Mission after their Manner. I pity the Persons whom they abandon to the Discretion of these Men, I lament the Ruin of so many Families, so many Persons of Quality reduced to Alms; I cannot reflect upon what has happened now in *France* without Compassion; I am sorry for those unfortunate Persons who are born in Error; but methinks they are more worthy of Pity than of Hatred: And as I would not to gain the whole Empire of the World partake of their Error, so I would not likewise be any Ways the Cause of their Miseries. I consider *France* at this Time, as one who is sick, whose Legs and Arms they cut off, in order to the healing of a Distemper which a little Patience and Sweetness would have cured perfectly. But I am very much afraid lest the Distemper be exasperated, and in the End be rendered incurable; lest the Fire hid in the Embers, one Day break out into a greater Flame than ever; and lest disguised Heresy become more dangerous. Nothing is more Praise-Worthy than the Design of converting Hereticks and Infidels; but the Manner which is used there, is altogether new: And since our Saviour made no Use in the least of such a Method to convert the World, it cannot be the best; I admire indeed, but cannot comprehend that Zeal and that Policy, both which pass my Understanding; and am besides very glad I cannot comprehend them: Do you believe that now is the Time to convert the Hugonots, and to render them good Catholicks, in an Age in which such visible Attempts are made in *France* against the Respect and Submission which are due to the Church of *Rome*, which is the only and immoveable Foundation of our Religion; since it is she to whom *Christ* hath made that glorious Promise that the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against her. In the mean while the scandalous Liberty of the Gallican Church never advanced nearer to a Rebellion than she doth at this present. The last Propositions, signed and published by the  
Clergy



Clergy of *France* are, that they have given a very apparent Triumph to Heresy; and I believe their Surprise to have been extraordinary, when they saw themselves very soon after persecuted by those very Men, who upon a fundamental Point of Religion entertain Tenets and Opinions so agreeable to their own. These are the powerful Reasons that hinder me from rejoicing at the pretended Extirpation of Heresy. The Interest of the *Roman* Church is certainly as dear to me as my Life; but it is that Interest also which makes me reflect upon what is done with Sorrow; and I further avow to you, that I love *France* sufficiently to lament the Desolation of so brave a Kingdom: I wish with all my Heart that I may be deceived in my Conjectures, and that all may end to the greater Glory of God, and the King your Master; I assure myself also that you will not doubt of the Sincerity of my Vows, and that I am,

*Your Friend,*

*Rome, February*  
2, 1686.

*Christiana.*

To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England*, before the Restoration of King *Charles II.*

*The humble Petition of the Fellowship of Trinity College in Cambridge.*

*Sheweth,*

**T**HAT whereas, by a Proviso made in the late Act of Indemnity, concerning Offices and Places of Trust, the Mastership of the said College, made void by the Death of Sir *Thomas Hill*, and afterwards confer'd on Sir *John Arrowsmith*, and since his Decease one Sir *John Wilkins* by Patent, dated *March*, 1658, is, and is declared, to be in the Disposal of this Parliament:

*Your*

Your Petitioners having had good Experience of the great Worth and Abilities of the said Sir *John Wilkins*, and being fully persuaded of his well Intentions and Resolutions, to promote Religion, Learning and Ingenuity among them, and in all Things vigorously and faithfully to discharge the Trust and Duty belonging to that Place, do very humbly, and yet with much Earnestness pray, that you would be pleased to constitute and settle him the said Sir *John Wilkins*, Master of that College.

And your Petitioners, who promise to themselves much Happiness from his pious and discreet Government, shall ever hold themselves obliged, and fully to preserve the Memory of this Act of Favour, and upon all Occasions shall be ready to give real Testimonies of their Sense of your particular Care and tender Regards to the Welfare, and to the humble Desires of that Society.

*And shall ever pray.*

*Edmund Bagshaw.  
Theophilus Rosbury.  
Francis Brooksby.  
Thomas Arrowsmith.  
Joseph Hill.  
Charles Wright.  
Thomas Blomer.  
John Ekins.  
Roger Sparkes.  
Joseph Oddey.  
William Dover.  
Stephen Scandrott.  
Thomas Giffith.  
John Hawkins.  
Peter Vivan,  
James Palmer.*

*Willoughby West.  
Richard Watts.  
Benjamin Pulleyn.  
William Corker.  
Thomas Baimbrigge.  
Joseph Wilkes.  
Thomas Hill.  
Daniel Brattell.  
John Wray.  
James Valentine.  
Henry Dearsley.  
Edmund Fotherby.  
Simon Smythes.  
Robert Moyle.  
William Spencer.*

*Nicholas Sanderson.  
Thomas Gibbs.  
Obadiab Sedgwick.  
Jeremiah White,  
James Duport,  
Joseph Pratt.  
William Disney.  
John Davies.  
Walter Catfray.  
William Lynnett.  
John Nidd.  
Richard Stedman.  
Robert Scott.  
Devereux Spencer.  
James Hodges.*

*The Copy of a Letter from Lord Paget, dated Vienna,*  
*June 21, July 1, 1691.*

Sir,

I Cannot say I trouble you in this, because my News is so good, that it will almost justify my Tedioufness.

On *Friday* last, we received Letters from Sir *William Hufsey*, dated at *Adrianople*, *June 3*, giving an Account of his prosperous Journey by Water from *Belgrade*, beyond *Nicopolis*, and thence by Land to *Adrianople*. All the Way he received extraordinary Honours, at *Belgrade* particularly. The Serafquier waited upon him to the Boat (a Thing, they tell me, unusual in *Turkey*, and scarcely before known) and among other obliging Expressions told him, that there never was yet any War, or the least Disgust between the *Porte* and *England*, but always an entire Friendship; which he prayed God to continue. As he passed by *Widin*, he sent to *Teckeley's* Camp, who was not there himself, but two of his chief Ministers (a Colonel and his Secretary) came in his Name to compliment him; and to complain of the ill Usage of the *Imperialists*, especially in Matters of Religion. The poor Christians of that Country almost adored him as he passed. His Excellency arrived at *Adrianople* about the latter End of *May*; where he was met by several *English* Gentlemen from *Constantinople*, and *Smyrna*. The 29th of *May* the Grand Signor, and Grand Vizier arrived. Their Entry was but mean, the Grand Sultan sitting in an ordinary Chariot, with one of his Courtiers in the back Part. The Grand Vizier passed quite through the Town, and went to his Tent pitched at an Hour and a Half's Distance off from it. He would not wait for Sir *William's* Compliments, (as is usual) but sent immediately to invite him to Audience; which was performed with Marks of Distinction, not formerly shewn to other Ambassadors. His Excellency was attended by the *Chians Passo*, and twelve Footmen in rich Liveries, half after the *English*, and half after the *Turkish* Mode, and a good Number of Gentlemen. The *Turks* all the  
Way



Way as he went, saluted him most affectionately, crying out in their Language, *God prosper your Undertaking; God grant your Mediation may succeed, and grant us once a happy Peace!* He had, at his Arrival in the Tent, a Chair set for him; and the Vizier being come, and the first Compliments past, his Excellency explained his Commission he had about a Peace. To which the Vizier answered, (repeating it three Times) That he was most willing to hearken to honourable Terms; and extreamly applauded the generous Friendship of the King of *England*, in interposing to stop the bloody Effects of so long a War. He also obliged Sir *William* to send one of his Gentlemen back to *Vienna*, to acquaint our Court with their good Disposition. He presented the usual Coffee, Sherbet, and Perfumes; and ordered Vests for the Gentlemen of Sir *William's* Attendance. This Express has made your Voyage in thirteen Days, being accompanied by a *Chian* to *Belgrade*; where the Sersaquier (knowing his Errant) presented him with a rich Sabre. His coming has extreamly rejoiced our Court; who now look upon the Peace almost as good as made. He was Yesterday heard at a Conference in Prince *Lewis's* House; at which the two Chancellors were present. And it is said, within two Days the Prince goes to the Army, and will have a full Power intrusted to him to conclude a Peace.

Sir *William* adds, that if the Treaty of Peace went not on, the Vizier was resolved to invade *Transylvania*.

My Lady *Hussey* and her Women keep their *English* Privilege of going bare-faced, and are mightily admired.

*Yours, &c.*

George Ash.

Honourable Sir, excuse this Scribbling, having neither Pen, nor Time to write as ought, by

*Your most humble Servant,*

*London, July 7, 1691.*

Thomas Paget.

*An Account of King James the Second's Reception at Oxford.*

THE Vice-Chancellor received the King with a short Speech; the King said he did not understand it, but was sure it was very loyal, as indeed, nothing else could be expected from that University. After the King came to his Lodgings, the Vice-Chancellor and University kissed his Hand. He had some private Discourse with the Vice-Chancellor. The King mentioned the Case of *Magdalen College*, and the Matter of the *Oxford Pamphlets* printed at the Theatre. The Vice-Chancellor did fairly and honestly state the Case in point of Election; and for the Press, told him, that, while Mr. *Walker* printed such Books, they were obliged in Honour, to answer them; but that, if he was ordered to cease printing, he would take Care of the Press.

Saturday Night passed over in Silence; neither Bells nor Bonfires, except two. In University College, they had an Illumination, as they call it, Candles set up in every Window, and Flambeaux in the College Tower.

On Sunday Morning the King went to Prayers and Sermon at *Massey's* Oratory, and at three in the Afternoon, to the *Popish* Chapel in University College, where he was received with a Speech in *English*, by Sir *Edward Hale's* Son, in which were many broad and plain Expressions. After Prayers, the University attended his Majesty at *Christ Church*; the Orator made a Speech; the Vice-Chancellor presented him with a Bible, and a Pair of Gloves; he looked into the Bible, asked if it was printed there, and commended it for an excellent Print. After this, the Fellows of *Magdalen College* were ordered to attend; the King told them, he had appointed the Bishop of *Oxon* their President, and commanded them to go back immediately to their College, and admit him. They offered to present a Petition. He told them, he would hear nothing; he was King, and did expect Obedience. As they were going out, he called to them, to know who pen'd the Letter to my Lord *Sunderland*, which said the Place was full, and asked them, whether they had done any publick Act since they were

were forbidden. To the first, they answered, it was not any single Person, but was the Act of the whole Company, and drawn up by their Order. To the other, that they had only admitted one Fellow, who had been elected the year before. The King then bid them again go, and hasten their Admission, otherwise he would make them feel the Weight of a Prince's Hand. Accordingly they met in the College Chapel (twenty-one in Number.) One was for admitting the Bishop, another desired Time, though he had some Time before prayed at *St. Mary's*, for *Dr. Hough*, the undoubted President of *Magdalen College*. The rest were unanimous in this Resolution, that they were very desirous to comply with the King's Commands in every Thing, as far as in their Conscience they could; but in this they could not possibly do it, without incurring the Guilt of a deliberate Perjury. This Answer they ordered two of their Company to carry back to my Lord *Sunderland*. The King is very much incensed; they say it will be put to the Judges, at the King's Return, which will be very soon.

On *Monday* between ten and eleven, the King was entertained in the Library with a noble Banquet; he seemed, and expressed himself extremely well satisfied with all his Entertainment; told the Vice-Chancellor and the rest, that he ever had, and should have a Kindness for that Place, where he had his Education, and could not but look upon them as truly loyal, and all Church of *England* Men were so, those that were truly Church of *England* Men, for there are some Wolves in Sheep's Cloathing among us, of whom he would have them beware; that, he would not have them think hardly of him, for the Kindness he had shewn those of other Persuasions, nor let their Eyes be evil, because his were good.

At his taking Coach, he renewed his Expressions with a great deal of Ardour and Earnestness, thanked the University for his noble Entertainments, that he took all Things kindly from them, said, he should always continue his Favour to them, and could not but ever look upon them as heartily loyal; that the Principles of Loyalty were the same in both Churches, and their Principles in other Things mostly the same. That in his Father's and Brother's Time, they lived amicably together, and he could not apprehend,



why they should not do so still: That, as for his Declarations, he would stand to them, to a Tittle, and they should ever find him their Friend.

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*An Account of the Czar, and his meeting King William in Holland.*

THE *Czar* having signified to the King, that he desired to see him, but with all the Privacy imaginable; it was agreed upon that the *Tootast*, a great Ordinary, which, *pro hac vice*, was the *Czar's* Lodgings at *Utrecht*, should be the Place for their Conference: Whither the King came from *Soesdyke*, and the *Czar* from *Amsterdam*. This Prince who affects to be *incognito*, to the last Degree, and is wonderfully averse to publick Meetings, sent to the King, that he would expect him in the Afternoon of last *Wednesday*, with no more than three or four Persons, if he pleased. The King made Answer, that he could not come with less than six or seven; which was agreed to. There was a vast Concourse of People, surely expecting to see the *Czar* go into his House: They were all disappointed; for he secretly crept into an obscure Cellar-Door, on the back Part of the House, and dressed himself, in Expectation of the King. His *Incognito*-Dress is very differing, and very extraordinary; sometimes like a Peasant; sometimes like a Gentleman, with Hat, Peruke, Cravat, and Sword; other times (and that often) with a Sailor's Cap, blue Shirt, and Canvas-Breeches. At present he had a purple Roll over his usual *Russian* Habit, nothing about his Neck, and his Hair cut to his Ears. How he received the King, my Author (being not admitted till afterwards) could not tell; but he found them in a large Room; the King sitting on one Side of the Table in a Chair without Arms, and the *Czar* exactly opposite, during the whole Time of their Conference; which lasted above an Hour. There were about  
seven

seven Persons waiting on the King, viz. the Earls of *Albermarle*, *Selkirk*, and *Orkney*, my Lord *Villars*, and one grave Nobleman, who stood behind the *Czar* and his Interpreter. The *Czar* spoke his own Language, and the King *French*; probably because the Interpreter understood no *English*. His Majesty gave him all along the Title of Emperor, or Imperial Majesty. The *Czar* asked his Majesty a great many Questions relating to the Army and Fleet. The King asked him concerning the Canal he is making between the *Volga* and the *Tanais*, upon which he had 80,000 Men actually at work. The *Czar* offered the King to drink, which his Majesty then excused; but told him, that if he would dine with him next Day, he would then drink a Bottle with him; to which the *Czar* consented. Among other things the *Czar* told the King why he was so averse from appearing in Publick: The Reason whereof he pretends is a Blemish, or Contorsion in his Eyes, the Effect of convulsive Fits, to which he is sometimes subject, occasioned by a sudden Attack of two Assassins, of whom he slew one with his own Hand, and cut off the other's Arm. After an Hour's Conference, the *Czar* embraced his Majesty, shook him very heartily by the Hand, and so took his Leave, leaving the King in Possession of the Room. About the Evening he sent to the King to tell him, he could not dine with him the next Day, because he foresaw it was impossible for him to meet his Majesty privately at the House not far from *Utrecht*, which the King had appointed. This, his affected Privacy, makes him always chuse to go by Water, and in common Passage-Boats; wherein he has never yet been discovered: And indeed he has nothing very distinguishing in his Person or Mien, except that small Blemish in his Eyes. He is very tall and slender, brown of Complexion, and aged about twenty-six Years. His frequent Change of Dress, Lodging, &c. does much contribute to his Concealment. Sometimes he is a Seaman; then he will lie two or three Days at an Anchor-Smith's at *Sordam*, and work as hard and as well as any Carpenter on Board a Ship. If he stays so long as to apprehend a Discovery, then our Imperial Potentate is metamorphosed into some other strange Creature, and so to pass through the Mob, whilst they are eternally gaping for him. There are a thousand flying Reports more of him, which I cannot vouch; but what I have

have said of him is true *ad pedem literæ*. Wherein if I have been too prolix, in mentioning light and trivial Things of him, please to excuse it, Sir, and to consider that every Nod, every Word, and every Action of Kings and Emperors, is weighty, admirable, and sacred.

*P. S.* We are told the *Czar* has had another Meeting with the King at Dinner, by his own Request, to their mutual Satisfaction.

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*A Copy of a Letter written in the Molucco Islands, in the Year 1695, to the Burgo-Master, Wilfon.*

**T**O give you some Account of the Things which happened at *Banda*, I must tell you, that it has pleased God to let us see his wonderful Works, and mighty Hand upon us, on the 20th of *November*, last Year, which has been known to many now living.

On the ——— about the Evening, was seen a very thick Smoak about the Top of the Mount *Gonnony Apii*, which was much augmented on the 21st and 22d, and some following Days; the Fire was continually encreasing on the West Side, and with such Blows, as if the greatest Pieces of Cannon had been discharged; so that we feared the whole Mountain would have been cast upon us. A Day of Humiliation and Prayer was proclaimed by the Government, against the 7th, throughout all *Banda*. Sometimes the Mount has brought forth such a Noise, as the greatest Storms can do about the Rigging of a Ship, or a Building on the Shore; and afterwards followed the Stones on the West Side, as far as the Sea, which was a horrible Spectacle. Fishermen have related to me, that so many Stones have been cast out already, that the Place, where they used to fish with Lines, at forty Fathom Water, is now dry; and the Fire comes out of the  
Water



Water so vehemently, as is dreadful to see, and the Water is so hot, that we cannot come near it; and now the Mountain burns most towards the Sea of *Lanto*. The Trees on the East and West Side are altogether spoiled, and the West Side covered with Stones, God knows, how high. The Stink of Brimstone, during the Westerly Monsoon, is so intolerable, that we could scarce endure it in the Streets of *Neiza*. The Noise continues still. How God Almighty will please to dispose of us, is best known to himself alone. There is a great Sickness at *Neiza*; the Water which raineth, is by Reason of the Brimstone and Saltpetre, become sour, and without the natural Taste. The Gardens which were on the *Gonnonny Apii*, and formerly brought forth great Store of Fruits for Man's Livelihood, are partly covered with Stones, and partly desert. The greatest Fear is, because it is consumed inwardly towards the old Hole, which was blown up in the Year 1615, and because the Fire seems to take its Course towards the South-West, and, that it being quite hollow there, will tumble inwardly, or be subverted. I have been as near the Fire as I could approach; but the excessive Noise and casting of Stones, made me draw back speedily.

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*The Copy of a Letter written by another Person from Banda, to the same Burgo-Master.*

THE Mount *Gonnonny Apii* keeps us still in a continual Fear, bringing forth a Noise and Stones; and we see nothing but Fire and Flames, which is continually increasing. It casts out Stones round about the Mountain, and the Fire ascends so high, that we can see it above the high Land at *Dender*, as it happened the 6th of this Month, that the Stones and the Flame went up above the high Land, which was horrible to see.

*An*

*An Extract of another Letter from the same Place to  
the same Man.*

**W**E are in Fear because of the Mount *Gonnonny Apü*, which burns continually, and casts out so great Quantity of Fire and Ashes, that the Trees of the Country *Neiza*, and Part of those in the high Country *Lonthoir*, are so much covered with Ashes, that not one good Fruit is to be expected from them.

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*A Copy of a Letter to the Burgo-Master, Wilson,  
from the Molucco Islands, June 10, 1695.*

**I**T is almost impossible for me to give a particular Account of the present State of *Banda*; for at *Neiza*, there is neither Leaf nor Herb, the Ground covered with Stones and Ashes, the Trees look just as those of our native Country in Winter; one half of the high Country is likewise in a sad Condition, many Trees wholly, or partly extinguished, and the rest lingering. If we are to have such another West Monsoon, all will perish to which that Wind can reach. Not one House at *Neiza* is undamaged; several are quite suppressed to the Ground by the Weight of the Dust and Ashes; and if all Hands had not been continually at work to take and carry it off, not one House had been remaining at *Neiza*. One of my Houses lies down; those of *Dender*, *Weyer*, *Calams*, and the inward Coast, as far as *Waling*, have likewise a sad Experience of this Calamity. We are sometimes visited with Earthquakes; especially on the 10th of *May*, about two o'Clock in the Afternoon, we had two hard Motions. Finally, *Banda* meets with many Crosses.

*Part*

\* ment of Scotland, to give all just Satisfaction to the joint Desires of both Kingdoms; we have now likewise thought fit to assure the two chief Cities of both our Kingdoms, that nothing is more grievous to us than the Trouble and Distractions of our People; and that nothing on Earth is more desired by us, than, that in Religion and Peace, with all the comfortable Fruits of both, they may henceforth live under us in all Godliness and Honesty. And this Profession we make for no other end, but that you may know immediately from ourselves, our Integrity and full Resolution to comply with our Parliaments in every thing for settling Truth and Peace, and our Desire to have all Things speedily concluded, which shall be found requisite for that End, that our Return to that our ancient City, may be to the Satisfaction of our Parliament, the Good-liking of you, and all our good People, and to our own greater Joy and Comfort. We bid you heartily farewell.

From Newcastle, the  
19th of May, 1646.

*The Speaker's Letter of the House of Commons to  
the King's Most Excellent Majesty, February the  
12th, 1641.*

S I R,

BESIDES my Sorrows (which pressed me very sore, and remaineth still upon me) the Troubles and Grief that fell upon me for the lamentable Breaches in Church and State, and for your Sacred Majesty and hopeful Offspring, filled up my Sorrows; and in my Thoughts I was grieved, that those Fears and Desolations fell out in your Days; I confess Charity suspects not, and the best Minds think the least Hurt; and the freer a Man is from Vice in himself, the more charitable he is of others; and this is that which hath proved, formerly, prejudicial to your Majesty; but had your Majesty been the first or the best that had been instead misinformed or ill-rewarded, it would

\* Ddd 2 be  
*former part wanting - his from Cha: 1. to City of London &c*



be an hard thing to command Patience; but Grief is asswaged either by Presidents or Examples. It is true, of late Days, your Majesty being misinformed against some of your best Subjects, your Majesty thought to have dealt with them, as *Joseph* thought to have dealt with *Mary*, and so put them away far from you; but with *Mary*, they travelling as it were with Child; and that that which they travelled withal might not appear an Illegitimate, the only wise God sent, as it were an Angel unto you, to let you see, that, like *Mary*, they being contracted unto you in Love, they have not as yet defiled their Marriage-Bed, but remain, like *Mary*, faithful to their Head and Sovereign; and your Majesty having been formerly seduced by false Opinions from others against them, I hope you will now be reduced unto them (and by them) by true Persuasions; and that you may be so, the only wise God that gave your Majesty your Being, and so knew you better than yourself, hath dealt with your Majesty as he did with *Adam* in Paradise, and so hath provided you a Meet-helper, when, with *Adam*, you thought no need of it, nor desired it; and your Majesty yielding, as *Adam* did (in sparing a superfluous Rib for to make him a Meet-helper) will become a great Gainer; for your Majesty shall not only lose those who may very well be spared, but you will gain to yourself, and your Posterity, a Meet-helper, that will endeavour by all means that may be lawful, to ease you of many Burthens that otherways might have lain heavy upon you; and this Helper is many Members of that Body whereof your Majesty is become the Head; and considering their Pains and Labour in Love, you should do them Injustice if you should suffer any for to accuse them. I hope there is none (or will be none) near you (if near you, yet dare not) so ingross your Favours any more to their own Advantage, whereby your good Subjects may be bereaved of those Benefits that ought to be common to all. As for your Commons, they go not about to steal your Favours, but to purchase them legally, and are become unto you, as *Abraham's* Servant was to his Master, who would not either eat or drink until he had done his Master's Business; and, I dare say, if your Commons (as your late Monopolists and others) had or did seek themselves or their own Advantages (more than the Good of King and Kingdom) they

they would have been wearied, after so much Labour, before now; but methinks I hear your Commons say, as *Adam* said, let us be but one, and that it may be so, they are willing, not only for a time, to be separated from their domestic Employments, but to forsake all, and run many Hazards, to cleave only to your Majesty in a solemn Contract; wherefore, to make up the Contract, you must, with *Isaac*, part with something that was formerly near unto you; and who would not spare a Part, to save the rest: Being done, it will prove to your Majesty as comfortable and welcome, as *Rebecca* was into *Isaac's* Tent.

This happy Match being made, it would not only refresh your People, but make glad your Heart in time of Fears and Dangers. It is true, there are many that have brought your Majesty into Troubles, and feared Dangers (and the more to blame they, for leaving your Majesty, having brought you into them). It is true, there are many, with *Orpha*, seeing your Troubles, have left you; but your Commons, like *Ruth*, are resolved to stick close unto you, and will endeavour to help you, if, with *David*, you will be advised by them (who blessed God for the seasonable Counsel of a Woman, when he was upon a desperate Design). Judge then of their Loves and Affections to your Majesty, by yours to them, and then tell me, whether they do not love you; doubtless, yes; accounting their Lives not dear unto them, so that they may but finish their Work with Joy, and accomplish their good Ends concerning you; and I doubt not, but that I speak it in the Name of many. And, in truth, by your late yielding and free Expression, you have stolen me from myself, yea, and am now wounded within me, and, like *Moses*, who was wounded within himself, and could hardly endure to look upon God when he descended in Mercy. It is true, there is nothing engageth a Soul to God, or a Subject to a King, as the Appearance of Love; this made *Moses* to say, *How dreadful is this Place, O God!* and this is that which hath stolen me from myself; so that I am no more mine own but yours: Yea, by this Return of yours to your People, you will win them to Obedience with Kindness; and by doing so, you will make good that which you were sent for, whose Cares ought to be employed for the Good of your Subjects; knowing that their Love is your  
greatest



greatest Safety, and their Prosperity, your greatest Honour and Felicity: And this is that which will make your Bed easy, when you shall possess the just Title to the Crown, with the Love of your People; and the Continuance of it with the willing Applause of the Subject, is the highest way to a Blessing; and the Hopes of this is that which hath brought me to renew and confirm the Covenant that your Majesty made with me, from your first Entrance to the Crown; and because you could not swear by no greater, swore by the Eternal God, that you would defend me; and at the first of our Contract we made but one, your Power and all that you had was mine, to defend me and do me good; but there have been some of late that have set your Majesty against me (I speak it in the Name of many) and have perswaded you to beat me, and to force me to Obedience; though of myself willing to obey, being of a Nature sooner won than compelled: And this is that which hath sore troubled me; yet this is not all; but when an Oath (with an *et cætera*) was put upon me, it wounded me; for by the Oath that I had taken already, I was bound fast enough: But the Truth is, when these Things befel me, I was afraid that some evil-minded Men, like to *Potipher's* Wife, seeing mine Innocency, and more faithful to you my Husband, than themselves, had complained against me without Cause: And this I could hardly bear; for by this means our great Adversaries, the Devil and Pope, laboured to sow Contentions and Jealousies between us; and this is that which will be a Means to undo us both. When your Majesty (which is become my Head and Husband) speaks kindly unto me, and is ruled by those that love us, my Heart is inflamed with a Love unto you; but when your Ministers abuse your Majesty's Kindness, and become Tirants to their Fellow-servants; yea, when they shall go about to justify themselves, and lay all their Villany upon your Majesty; this I can hardly bear; for by this means I am deprived of my Marriage-bed, and of my wonted Society; and am troubled within myself, when I see your Majesty (which is become my Head and Husband) strange unto me; but I hope every former Breach will unite Love the stronger. Wherefore being now reconciled to your Commons, feast, live, love, and die together; and be more firm in your near Union, than ever divided



divided in your hearty Unkindness; so shall you meet in the End and never part, but be like *Rachel* and *Leah*, which two built up the House of *Israel*. You are now in the way, and it is said, *Gen. xxiv. 27. That whilst the Servant of Abraham was in the way, God blessed him*; the same God bless you; and for your Comfort and Encouragement know, by so much shall you grow to Perfection, by how much you draw near to Unity. I confess, had the *Balaacs* and *Balaams* of our Times been so evil as they would have been, the World had been over-run with Evil; but such is the Wisdom of God, that oft-times he hides from evil Men those Times and Seasons that might prove prejudicial to his People: So it was when *Saul* sought for *David*. It is true, the good God might have destroyed the *Balaams* and wicked *Sauls* of our Times, but many times he will not, for God hath something more for them to do; and it is not so much Glory to God to take away wicked Men, as to use their Evil to his own holy Purposes; and gaineth many times more Glory by working Good by evil Instruments, than by destroying of them presently in their wicked Purposes; for it is a true Maxim, that it sufficeth a good Man, that he resisteth the evil Actions of the Wicked, whilst they love their Persons. I confess, our *Balaams* and our *Sauls* had gone very far, but in some Things God permits in Indignation, not for that he gives leave to the Act, but that he gives a Man over to the Sin in the Act, and yet this Sufferance employs not Favour but Judgment, and God is contented the Devil should win himself credit (sometimes) where he means to judge; I confess our *Sauls* and our *Balaams*, like *Cisera*, trusted in their Strength, but like *Cisera*, many of them run away; yet, in spite of them all, the Lord hath made a seasonable and hopeful Provision for his People. It is too true, by the means of our *Sauls*, your Majesty became to your People and Commons, as the Angel was unto *Gideon*, and so made them afraid; but like the Angel that made *Gideon* afraid, your Majesty hath returned to their Comfort; and as God, where he loves, he employs; you are now willing to enjoy them by a willing Contract, and not by Ravishment; and by this means you appear now unto your People like *Moses*, who had more Glory by his Veil than by his Face: And I do not doubt,

doubt, when all Things shall be made manifest, but that one faithful DAVID will be in more account with your Majesty, than either the *Sauls* or *Balaams* whatsoever. It is true, by the means of our *Sauls*, the Crown is become full of Cares, and your Majesty having almost been wearied by them, would fain now take some Rest; and that your Majesty may rest, I will, with *Jacob*, give God no Rest until he have blessed you; wherefore, being now reconciled unto your Commons, you will become as sweet and pleasant to the Church and the three Kingdoms, as the Tree that God shewed to *Moses*, which when he cast into the Waters, the Waters were made sweet (which formerly were bitter). I know that Thankfulness and Love can do more with good Men than Merit or Necessity; and methinks I see you like our Saviour, who thirsted after the Salvation of Mankind; and I believe it was not so much out of Dryness as out of Love; go you and do so likewise, knowing that modest Beginnings and hopeful Proceedings makes happy Endings; and for your Comfort know, that God, whose Battles you fight, will provide a due Reward: And so I commend the Saying of *Solomon* unto you, *Ecclef. ix. 10. Whatsoever thy Hand findeth to do, do it with thy Might, for there is no Work, nor Device, nor Knowledge, nor Wisdom, in the Grave whither thou goest.*

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*To his much esteemed Friend and Kinsman Sir H. W.  
at his House in Westminster.*

S I R,

THE Indisposition of my Body hath confined me to my Chamber, we must now therefore discourse by Letters: Your Petition for Peace I see is not so happy as to find Success in Parliament, at which while I wondred, I began to consider the Reasons, which are diverse as the Persons opposing it; therefore you must first observe the Opposers, and then the Reasons will be evident. It is not fit the Houses of Parliament should deny the obedient Citizens of *London* any thing, for that may  
be



be distasteful to the City ; nor yet grant the Request of the Petition, for that may be destructive to the Profit of many Members of both Houses, and to some even of the City itself. It was therefore wisely done of my abortive Lord Mayor and his zealous Sectaries, to attempt the strangling of it in the Birth, by committing some that were active about it ; their Reasons are Reformation of Religion, that is, abolishing the Book of Common-Prayer as Popish, though justified by the *Composers Martyrdom* under the Popish Tyranny ; but that will make way for their new Doctrines and extemporary Babblings ; next, the dissolving of Bishopricks and Deanries, will repay the Money lent upon public Faith, for advancing the *Lord's War*, (for so they miscall Treason) and conclude, that being the *Lord's Debt*, it is fittest to be paid out of the *Lord's Inheritance* ; then Bishops being eradicated *Elders* may grow up and flourish as in *Susanna's Days*. And it is considerable, that the Estates of Malignants will be just Rewards for the godly Labourers in this Harvest ; all which will be lost by a beggarly Accommodation.

Touching the Houses of Parliament, which consists of about 140 Lords, and 500 Commoners, of which not a fifth Part do attend in their several Houses, some being voted out, others committed for not conforming their Consciencies to the Sense of the House ; and very many, disliking the Proceedings and Tumults, left the House, and repaired to the King ; with whom a greater Part, I am sure is, than attend both Houses, being come to preserve their Oaths of Allegiance, which is Personal to the King.

Take, Sir, but a View of such as fit and act the Business in the Houses of Parliament, observe who among them have Commands and Places of Profit in and about this War ; then examine their small Estate, with their great Debt and Charge ; the rich Profit of their Command, with their poor Revenue. The Lords *Hastings, Rochford, Wharton, Sir John Mandevill, Feelding, Gray of Grooby, Sir Hugh Chamley, Sir Samuel Luke, Sir John Mericke, Master Nathaniel Fines, Mr. Marting, Mr. Wingate, Mr. Walton, Mr. Cromwell, Colonel Venne, Mr. John More*, and others, are Men whose Credit (as appears by Scriveners Books) is as great as their Estates, not invited to Commands by the Profit of the



Places, but by their conscientious Zeal to the Cause; others of the Houses (lest any Water should run beside their Mill) prefer their Sons, Brothers, and near Friends, to Places and Employments of Profit about this War, as Mr. *Pym* his Son *Alexander*, Sir *H. Mildemay* his Brother *Anthony*, my Lord *S--y* his Son *John*, and Others other Friends; while some Men of the House have confessed, that the Pay made them undertake the Cause, and which of all these, save Sir *Job. Merric*, knows ought of his Place but the Profit; nay, many of them, for the better Service, fight by their Lieutenants, as they pay Debts by their Surities; and how many of them, save two or three which were taken Prisoners, received a Wound, or struck one Blow, in the late Battels of *Edge-hill* and *Brainceford*; what Hopes then, that these Men will give their Votes, and 12 or 1500 *l. per Ann.* for a barren Peace? Will my Lord Mayor subscribe a Petition that shall take away his Toll, 12 *d.* for Passes out of *London*? or Colonel *Mannering*, the crased Mercer; Captain *Basse*, the Lace-man; Captain *Mason*, the Button-maker; Captain *Witherly*, the Pewterer; Captain *Capcote*, the Broker; Captain *Lee*, the Vintner; with the Conyskin Captain in *Southwark*; and divers other Debt-compounding Citizens, their Pay and Protections against Creditors, and leave themselves nought but a Goal to live in? What can you hope for by your Petition, that these Men, and the like, can hinder?

Now survey, what they impudently call the popish and beggarly Lords and Cavaliers for and about the King, as the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis *Hartford*, Earls of *Cumberland*, *Darby*, *Lindsey*, *Bath*, *Dorset*, *Bridgewater*, *Danby*, *Leicester*, *Devonshire*, *Northampton*, *Chesterfield*, *Bristol*, *Westmorland*, *Barkshire*, *Newcastle*, *Carnarvon*, *Kingston*, and *Thanet*; the Lords *Mowbray*, *Mountague* of *Baughton*, *Dainecourt*, *Shandoys*, *Spencer*, *Gray*, *Mohume*, *Dunsmore*, *Newwarke*, *Seymore*, *Capell*, and others: Then of the House of Commons, Sir *Christop. Hatton*, Sir *Jarvas Clifton*, Sir *Guy Palmes*, Sir *James Thinn*, Mr. *John Coventry*, Mr. *Henry* and Mr. *John Bellassey*, Sir *Tho. Fanshawe*, Sir *Richard Lewson*, Sir *Tho. Danby*, Sir *Job. Packington*, Sir *Ric. Lee*, Sir *Charles le Grosse*, *Maft. Catline*, *Maft. Holborne*, Mr. *Bridgman*, Mr. *Chadwell*, Sir *John Strangways* and his Son, Mr. *John Digby*, Sir *Edw. Dering*,  
Sir

*Sir Will. Widdrington, Mr. Venables, Baron of Kinnerton, Mr. Rogers, Mr. Newport, Sir Edw. Alford, Mr. Whitmore, Mr. Chitchly, Mr. Edgcombe, Sir John Stowell, Mr. Crook, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Sutton, Sir Will. Oagle, Sir Will. Poole,* and one hundred more than my Paper will hold, Men of Understanding and known Integrity; and which of all these, whose Age and Health would permit, adventured not their Lives and Estates in this War with the King? Now let us examine their Religion, and you shall find them daily at Sermons and Service with the King, hearing and practising the same Protestant Religion and Liturgy, that saved our Fathers, and hath been in our Church ever since the Reformation, and which we have vowed by the late Protestation to maintain; then (no doubt) neither the King nor they are likely to bring in Popery, nor be Separatists.

That they are Men of Estates, the Countries that elected them (if not the Kingdom) knows, and which of them hath any Profit by the War? Which of them goes not himself and Servants to the War at his own Charge? Nay, which of them hath not otherwise, in a large manner, contributed to the Maintenance of the King's Army, and that without any Commands of an Ordinance; yea, even against the Declaration of the Houses? What would they and others then have done, had an Order of the Houses directed it as on the other side? By this then you see they are neither popishly nor beggarly; nor can have any Reward or Hopes of Repair out of the Estates of the adverse Party.

But they would induce arbitrary Government: I pray what Proof is there of that? What one Act hath the King done since the Commence of the Parliament that favours of arbitrary Justice? Whom hath he distrained, committed, or turned out of Town for not lending? Nay, what hath he not done to assure us the contrary? Read his Declarations, observe his regal Promises and Protestations, and then tell me, what Christian (that hath Charity) or what Man (that would be believed) will not believe him? Hath he not regulated the Council-table? damned the Ship-writs? suppressed the High-commission and Martial-court? Nay, hath he not left all things to be tried by strict Proceedings of Law?

Whom can arbitrary Justice more prejudice, than those now about and with the King? The rich and wealthy Men? Surely then they will not be a means to induce that Law that shall undo and enslave them, their Children, Families and Estates. Yet must we lend Money, send Horses, and raise Arms against these popish and beggarly Cavaliers. For it is not against the King, that were Treason, and Breach of our late Protestation, which is to defend his Majesty; yet was the King's Person in Danger at *Edge-hill* Battle, when the undistinguishing Shot took some Persons even about the King; but God did then, and I hope always will cover his Head in the Day of Battle.

Upon these Considerations, Sir, I cannot believe or fear the Reducement of Popery or arbitrary Justice; nor think my Conscience, Person, or Estate, tied by the necessitous Ordinance of both Houses (for want of an Act of Parliament) to pay or let the Twentieth Part of my Estate (which you know may come to three or four hundred Pounds) be taken to support a War, wherein the Person of the King (which God forbid) may be hurt.

I am sure that while God promised the Scepter to *Judah*, he put the Law-giver between his Feet, to let us know, that the legislative Power is neither above nor without the King; and I know the King, by his Writs, doth call them to advise with him, not to resolve without him; I will therefore keep my Hands from giving, and so preserve my Conscience; I will fast bolt my Doors, and so preserve my Person and Estate, until a stronger than I come; for I had rather others committed Trespass in taking, than I Treason in giving: And I am sure that both Armies are not on the right side; but one, with all their voluntary Maintainers and Abettors, must, without God's infinite Mercy, be guilty of the Blood of all the Men slain on either side. I shall therefore, for my particular, believe and follow the Rule of the Apostle, to *obey the King, for he is set over us by God*; rather than run with the new Opinions and contrary Doctrine of our militant Evangelists, *Dr. Burges, Dr. Downing, Mr. Marshall, and Sedgwick*, whose Consciences start out of the way at a white Surplice, but never boggle at Garments rolled in Blood. There are



are other Things considerable with us Citizens also, as the Return of Sir *Faithful Fortescue*, Lieutenant-Colonel *Wagstaffe*, and my Lord *Essex's* Favourite, Captain *Scrimshaw*, unto the King; next, the Danger and Jealousy we are in, that even some of the Great Ones will follow (for these are but Harbengers) and rather than come empty-handed to the King, will make us their Peace-offering.

Let us consider the Event of War, wherein we can yet boast nothing but our Success at *Winchester*. But had we had the Day at *Edge-hill*, and totally routed the Cavaliers, would that have determined the War? I fear, rather have called in all the Monarchs in Christendom to maintain Monarchy; and then were we engaged, like the *Low Countries*, in perpetual Blood. How great then is our Streight, for if we succeed, we undo ourselves; if the King, by Victory (or Treachery of our Commanders) the Labour is saved us then, for having refused his Mercy, we must expect his Justice.

I have now, Sir, unbosomed myself to you my Friend, let therefore my Errors find a friendly Reproof, rectifying my Mistakes by your Advice, which I shall take as Commands, return you the thankful Acknowledgment of

Read and burn.

Your Friend and Kinsman,

Milk-street, London,  
28 Decemb. 1642.

T. R.

A re-

*A remarkable Letter from O. Cromwell to the Governor of Edinburgh Castle.*

S I R,

**B**Ecause I am at some reasonable good Leisure, I cannot let such a gross Mistake and inconsequential Reasonings pass, without some Notice taken of them: And first, their Ingenuity in relation to the Covenant, for which they commend themselves, doth no more justify their want of Ingenuity, in answer to Colonel *Walley's* christian Offer, concerning which my Letter charged them with Guiltiness, Deficiency; than their bearing witness to themselves, of their adhering to their first Principles and Ingenuity in prosecuting the Ends of the Covenant, justifies them so to have done, merely because they say so: They must give more Leave henceforwards, for Christ will have it so, will they \* nill they, and they must have Patience to have the Truth of their Doctrines and Sayings tried by the sure Touch-stone of the Word of God; and if there be a Liberty and Duty of Trial, there is a Liberty of Judgment also, for them that may and ought to try; which, if so, they must give others leave to say and think, that they can appeal to equal Judges, who have been the truest Fulfillers of the most real and equitable Ends of the Covenant: But if these Gentlemen which do assume to themselves to be the infallible Expositors of the Covenant, as they do too much to their Auditories of the Scriptures, counting a different Sense and Judgment from theirs, Breach of Covenant and Heresy, no marvel they judge of others so authoritatively and severely; but we have not so learned Christ. We look at Ministers as Helpers of, not Lords over the Faith of God's People: I appeal to their Consciences, whether any trying their Doctrines and dissenting, shall not incur the Censure of Sectary? and what is this but to deny Christians their Liberty, and assume the infallible Chair? What doth he whom we would not be likened unto do more than this? In the second place it is affirmed, that the Ministers of the Gospel have been imprisoned, deprived of their Benefices, sequestred, forced to fly from their Dwellings, and bitterly threat-

ned

\* Sic Orig.

ned for their faithful declaring the Will of God, &c. and that they have been limited that they might not speak against the Sins and Enormities of the evil Powers: That to impose the Name of Railing, upon such faithful Freedom, was the old Practice of the Malignants against the Preachers of the Gospel, &c.

If the Civil Authority of that Part of it which continued faithful to their Trust, true to the Ends of the Covenant, did, in answer to their Consciences, turn out a Tyrant in a way which the Christians in After-times will mention with Honour, and all Tyrants in the World look at with Fear; and many thousands of Saints in *England* rejoice to think of it, and have received from the Hand of God, a Liberty from the Fear of like Usurpation; and have cast off him who trod in his Father's Steps, doing mischief as far as he was able, whom you have received like Fire into your Bosoms, of which God will, I trust, in time make you sensible. If Ministers, railing at the Civil Power, calling them Murtherers, and the like, for doing this, have been dealt with as you mention; will this be found a personal Persecution? or is Sin so, because they say so? They that acted this great Business, having given a Reason of their Faith in this Action, and some here are ready further to do it against all Gainsayers. But it will be found, that these Reprovers do not only make themselves the Judges and Determiners of Sin, that so they may reprove; but they also took liberty to stir up the People to Blood and Arms, and would have brought a War upon *England*, as hath been upon *Scotland*, had not God prevented it. And if such Severity as hath been expressed toward them be worthy the Name of personal Persecution, let all uninterested Men judge, whether the calling of this Practice Railing, be to be paralleled with the Malignants Imputation upon the Ministers, for speaking against the popish Innovations in the Prelates Times, and the tyrannical and wicked Practice then on foot, let your own Consciences mind you. The *Roman* Emperors in Christ's and his Apostles Times were Usurpers and Intruders upon the Jewish State: yet what Footstep have ye, either of our blessed Saviour's so much as Willingness to the dividing of an Inheritance, or their meddling in that kind; this was not practised by the Church since our Saviour's Time 'til Antichrist assuming the infallible Chair,  
and



and all that he called the Church to be under him, practised this authoritatively over civil Governors.

The way to fulfil your Ministry with Joy, is to preach the Gospel, which I wish some who take Pleasure in Reproof at adventure, do not forget too much to do.

Thirdly, You say, you have just Cause to regret, that Men of civil Employments should usurp the Calling and Employment of the Ministry, to the Scandal of the reformed Kirks, &c.

Are you troubled that Christ is preached? Is Preaching so inclusive in your Function? Doth it scandalize the reformed Kirks, and *Scotland* in particular? Is it against the Covenant? Away with the Covenant if this be so, I thought the Covenant and these could have been willing that any should speak good of the Name of Christ; if not, it is no Covenant of God's approving, nor the Kirks you mention, in so much the Spouse of Christ. Where do you find in the Scripture a Ground to warrant such an Assertion, That preaching is included in your Function? though an Approbation from Men hath Order in it, and may do well, yet he that hath not a better Warrant than that, hath none at all. I hope he that ascended up on high, may give his Gifts to whom he please; and if those Gifts be the Seal of Mission, be not envious though *Eldad* and *Medad* prophesy: You know who bids us covet earnestly the best Gifts, but chiefly that we may prophesy, which the Apostle explains there to be a Speaking to Instruction, and Edification, and Comfort, which the Instructed, Edified, and Comforted can best tell the Energy and Effect of; if such Evidence be, I say again, take heed you envy not for your own sake, lest you be guilty of a greater Fault than *Moses* reproved in *Joshua*, for envying for his sake; indeed, you err through the Mistake of the Scriptures: Approbation is an Act of Conveniency in respect of Order, not of Necessity, to give Faculty to preach the Gospel. Your pretended Fear lest Error should step in, is like the Man that would keep all the Wine out of the Country, lest Men should be drunk. It would be found an unjust and unwise Jealousy, to deny a Man the Liberty he hath by Nature, upon a Supposition he may abuse it; when he doth abuse it judge. If a Man speak foolishly, ye suffer him gladly because ye are wise, if erroneously, the Truth more appears by your Conviction;

viction; stop such a Man's Mouth with sound Words that cannot be gainsaid, if blasphemously, or to the Disturbance of the public Peace, let the Civil Magistrate punish him; if truly, rejoice in the Truth; and if you will call our Speakings together since we came into *Scotland*, to provoke one another to Love and to good Works, to Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and Repentance from dead Works, to Charity and Love towards you, to pray and mourn for you, and for the bitter Returns to, and Incredulity of our Professions of Love to you, to do you all the Good we can (of the Truth of which we have made our solemn and humble Appeals to the Lord our God, which he hath heard and born witness to) if, I say, these things be scandalous to the Kirk, and against the Covenant, because done by Men of civil Callings, we rejoice in them, notwithstanding what you say.

For a Conclusion in answer to the Witness of God upon our solemn Appeal: You say, you have not so learned Christ to hang the Equity of your Cause upon Events. We could wish Blindness hath not been upon your Eyes to all those marvellous Dispensations which God hath wrought lately in *England*. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so too? and ought not you and we to think with Fear and Trembling of the Hand of the great God in this mighty and strange Appearance of his? but can slightly call it an Event: Were not both yours and our Expectations renewed from time to time, whilst we waited on God to see which way he would manifest himself upon our Appeals? And shall we, after all these our Prayers, Fastings, Tears, Expectations, and solemn Appeals, call these bare Events? The Lord pity you, surely we fear, because it hath been a merciful and gracious Deliverance to us: I beseech you in the Bowels of Christ, search after the Mind of the Lord in it towards you, and we shall help you by our Prayers, that you may find it out; (for yet, if we know our Hearts at all) our Bowels do in Christ Jesus earn after the Godly in *Scotland*: We know there are Stumbling-blocks which hinder you: The personal Prejudices you have taken up against us, and our Ways, wherein we cannot but think some Occasion has been given, and for which we mourn: The Apprehension you have, that we have hindred the glorious Reformation you think you were upon: I am per-

suaded these, and such like bind you up from an Understanding and Yielding to the Mind of God, in this great Day of his Power and Visitation; and, if I be rightly informed, the late Blow you received is attributed to prophane Counsels and Conduct, and Mixtures in your Army, and such like; the natural Man will not find out the Cause; look up to the Lord, that he may tell it you: Which that he would do, shall be the fervent Prayers of

*Your loving Friend and Servant,*

Edinburgh, Sep.  
12, 1650.

O. CROMWELL.

SPEECHES in PARLIAMENT, LETTERS, &c.  
(as endorsed on the MSS.) of Lord HOWARD,  
after the Restoration from 1660 to 1673, but not  
regularly dated.

*A Speech in Parliament.*

I Stand not up (Sir) to oppose any thing contained in this Bill. It is a Bill most worthy of such a Parliament, most suitable and agreeable to that Loyalty, Duty and Allegiance which all *Englishmen* owe, and which, to your eternal Honour, as the true Representatives of the People, you have, upon all Occasions expressed your Readiness and Forwardness to pay, with all handsome Circumstances, and most emphatical Demonstrations of a real, cordial and most sincere Affection to his Majesty. We now find, Sir, the Truth of that Maxim confirmed to us, *ex-pessimis moribus optimæ nascuntur leges*. The Debauchery of wicked Men, and the Iniquity of evil and corrupt Times have always been the Production of the best and most prudential Laws. I speak not this, Sir, as if I were about to accuse the good, wholesome, wise, and prudent Laws of this Nation, of so great an Oversight as the Neglect of the Preservation of the sacred Persons of our Kings, in whom are bound up the Safety, Welfare,



fare, Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom; this were an Hypothesis not to be allowed, nor can any Man, who is not out of his Wits, imagine, that what you are now doing is grounded upon such a Supposition, or capable of such an Interpretation. The very Phrase and Words of the Bill do plainly enough evince, that it is not intended to be an Act constitutive and creative of what before was not, but explanatory and declaratory of what before was, and ever has been; and certainly, Sir, since, in these our Days there has started up a cursed, impious and most audacious Generation of Men, who, having not only like those Giants in the Fable, bid Defiance to Heaven, made War with the Gods, despised and contemned Authorities, affront a Majesty, and most impudently assassinated and murdered the best of Princes; but have also endeavoured to gild and paint over this their Wickedness with the Name of Justice, and by their crafty Prevarications, cunning Insinuations, and false abusive Glosses upon this Law, have been so powerful upon the Minds of common, silly and ignorant People as to impress upon them an Opinion and Belief of the Legality of what they have done; who is there that will not think it necessary, at last, that something should come from you to stop the spreading Contagion of the Doctrine of these Devils, to reclaim Men from the dangerous Error of such a Paradox, and to recal them again to their wanted due Reverence and Adoration of those who have ever been held and truly stiled Gods upon Earth. To this End, Sir, this declarative Clause of this Bill seems to be excellently well accommodated, and I would hope, that it may be effectual for those Purposes for which you intend; yet give me leave to tell you, Sir, that in my Apprehension there is something wanting.

You are pleased, Sir, to think fit, that it be declared, that neither one nor both Houses of Parliament have, or by the Laws of this Nation can pretend to have any coercive Power upon the Person of their King. This is a very good Declaration, and such an one as will undoubtedly be able to justify itself by the harmonious Consent of all the Laws of this Nation; but this, Sir, does but lop off one of the Branches of Rebellion; this does not put the Axe close to the Root of the Tree. Alas, Sir! to what Purpose will it be to declare, that a King ought not to be

murdered, unless you also take care that a King may not at any time by rebellious Arms be conquered; and how can it be thought, that you would, as much as in you lies, give Prevention for the Future to the bold Undertakings of a rebellious Hand, unless you do clearly determine, even to the Understanding of the most simple and ignorant, in whom, and in whom alone rest a Power of calling the Nation into Arms. This I dare lay down for an Assertion, as that which does most naturally prove itself, that in whomsoever is lodged a Power of taking up of Arms, to them must also be allowed the Exercise of that Power, when, and as often as they think a fit Occasion, for the Rule holds as true in Politics as it does in Physic, *frustra datur potentia ejus quod nunquam est in actu.*

And to whomsoever is allowed an Authority to take up Arms, to them also be allowed an Authority to fight with, kill and destroy all that make Resistance against them; and to whomsoever it is allowed to fight, to them also it must be allowed to conquer if they can; and to whomsoever is allowed a Right of conquering, to them also must be allowed a Liberty of improving a Victory; and what will be judged a due Improvement; none but the Conqueror must undertake to determine.

If therefore, Sir, you suffer this Error to remain fixed and radicated in the Minds of Men, that there is any Authority in the Nation separate and distinct from the King's, which can justify the People in taking up Arms against their lawful Prince, though it be but under the Name of defensive Arms only, and that for the Preservation of the Laws against arbitrary and tyrannical Proceedings (the always pretended Excuse for such Undertakings.) Do you think, Sir, you have made the King's Person one jot the safer by declaring, That no coercive Power ought to be exercised over him. Will a Rebel, think you, made proud by Victory, be led to stand by such a Declaration? Will an insolent Conqueror confine himself within the modest Bounds and Limits of your Laws? Can it be imagined, that a poor Parchment Record shall put a Stop to him, who has made the strongest Forts and Castles to fall down before him? No, Sir, none but that Omnipotent One who sets Bounds to the raging Sea, can say to that proud Wave,—Thou shalt go thus far, and no farther. The Truth



Truth of this, Sir, is too fully proved to you by sad Experience, and it is from that Experience that I am emboldened thus to speak.

Did I believe that you intended nothing more than a mere Compliment to the King, I should be as ready as any one to confess, that this Bill, as it is now framed, would serve well enough for that Purpose; but I am confident, Sir, that if we would (as that I am sure is your Design) prevent this bad Effect, you must be careful in time to strangle it in the dark Womb of its most remote Causes. If you would avoid the stinging of the fiery Serpent, you must break early the Cockatrice's Eggs. If you would have your Kings safe, you must block up all those Avenues and Accesses by which Parricides have formerly made their Approaches to the sacred Throne.

I am not ignorant, Sir, that some perhaps may be ready to object, and say, that the undoubted sole Power of the Militia is in the King, and that therefore a Declaration of this would be altogether unnecessary, there being none, or but very few, who do believe, that a War raised under the Pretence of any other Authority, deserves any better Name than Rebellion: For if there be few or none that do believe, that it is justifiable to take up Arms against the King; then certainly there are fewer who do believe that a King is accountable to his Subjects, and can be arraigned and executed as a Criminal; sure I am, that if there be none do believe the first, there will be none able to do the other; and this I conceive will be no little Part of your Bill. I never heard that a King was apprehended as a Malefactor, by Warrants issued out from Justices of the Peace: I never heard that a King was seized by a Constable or a Pursuivant: Does any Record make mention, of a King filed to appear before any legal Court of Justice? This were a Thing so absurd to imagine; so altogether unnecessary to urge; that a Parliament that should make a Law to obviate and prevent such a Mischief; which never did, nor never, by any Possibility, can happen, would seem to act as fruitless a Work, as a Physician that should beat his Brains to find out a Remedy for a Disease which Mankind never felt, nor may ever, according to Rules of Art, be obnoxious to.

Sir,



Sir, Do but you take care that there never be a *Cromwel* again in *England*, and I will warrant you, you shall never hear of another *Bradshaw*; free us but from the Fear of a rampant Army, raised under the Countenance of a pretended lawful Authority, and there will be no Danger that Majesty shall ever stand arraigned again at the Bar of an High Court of Justice. Believe it, Sir, this does more deserve your serious Thoughts, than can, perhaps, on a sudden be imagined. If you do but look Abroad a little, and take a due measure of Men, by some Discourses intimative of their Minds, which now and then drop from them, you will have Cause to conclude, that though at present (blessed be God for it) all the Idol Powers of the Nation are fallen, at the glorious Appearance of our Sovereign, like *Dagon* before the Ark; yet there is a golden Image still standing, to which many are ready to bow the Knee; this, this, Sir, I conceive is to be broken in pieces, or otherwise I do not see how your Peace can be sufficiently secured, or the Throne of His Majesty firmly established: I will not hold you longer in the Clouds, I am sure I mean honestly, and I would hope therefore I may speak plainly, it is for your Service only that I speak, and desire to do it without offending any. Suppose, Sir (for I must suppose that which I hope we shall never see) that Misunderstandings and Jealousies grew betwixt the King and his Two Houses, are there not many Thousands, Sir, think you, in the Kingdom, who are of opinion, that at the Beck of the Two Houses they may lawfully take Arms, and march confidently under their Banners, without incurring the Danger of falling under the dishonourable Name of Rebels? Sir, I may safely say it with Sadness, there are many, many honest and well-meaning Men, who, poisoned with the Doctrine of the late Times, do think it not only lawful, but their Duty, thus to be obedient to the Call of Parliaments; and there are not few, I fear, who with Earnestness and longing Expectation wait for such a Call, that under the Pretence of a Parliamentary Authority, they may gain an Opportunity of reducing the Nation to that miserable Condition in which you found it when you first took your Place. Here lies your Danger; and hence, Sir, must spring all those Evils which have already been felt, or we may hereafter fear.

This,

This, Sir, I humbly conceive affords the fittest Matter for a Declaration for to work upon, this being a Controversy managed with so much Finesse, and polished over with so many nice Distinctions, that 'til you undertake the Decision of it, every common and vulgar Understanding will not know how to make a Resolution in the Case. 'Tis true, indeed, Sir, to take up Arms against the King, this is High Treason in plain *English*; no Man is so ignorant as not to know it, no Man so impudent as to deny: But modestly, civilly, and demurely, to take up Arms for the Defence of King and Parliament, though without the concurrent Authority of the King, and contrary to the declared Mind and Will of the King: This is not High Treason, as it has been said, &c.

Many such moot Cases, Sir, arise, you see, upon this Point of Law; many such Questions, dainty, fine, nice, curious, critical, philosophical Questions, are started upon this Occasion; Questions, Sir, 'that have borne a Twenty Years Debate; Questions that have been disputed up to the Ears in Blood; Questions that to this Day remain undetermined; and methinks, Sir, they are now ripe, high ripe, for your Determination at this Time.—  
[Here the MS. ends.]

Mr. SPEAKER,

I Think, I need not tell you that I do not stand up to plead the Cause of those bloody Assassins, the Authors of that horrid execrable and most detestable Murther and Treason committed against, and upon the sacred Person of our dread Lord and Sovereign of ever famous and renowned Memory; I hope, Sir, I may say, that I have not carried myself so since I had the Honour to sit within these Walls, as that it can be said of me, that I have at any time appeared an Advocate for Delinquents of a much lower Form than these. But, Sir, as I do not stand up to plead for them, so give me leave to tell you, that I take it to be a little foreign to the Matter now in hand, to declaim or inveigh against them: Surely, Sir, were there nothing more than they only in the Question, their Lives, their Safety, their Impunity, not three Days, nor three Hours had been spent in the Debate.



Debate. I am certain, Sir, you cannot but remember when the Journal of the Proceedings of these bloody Traitors, preserved with so much Care upon Record, were read before you, you cannot, I say, Sir, but remember how great a Consternation of Mind did seize the whole House: Did you not observe, Sir, every Man hanging down his Head like a Bulrush? Did not a sudden Tremor fall upon our Joints? Did not Paleness, like the Paleness of Death, sit upon our Countenances? Did not you see Shame, Sorrow, and Indignation, striving as it were for the Victory in us? Was not every Motion of our Eyes, and every Gesture of our Bodies, strong Arguments and Indications, that our Souls were agonized and convulsed with an impatient Desire of hastening Revenge upon the Heads of those cursed Miscreants? I do appeal to you, Sir, if such was not the Temper of this House, when this hellish Fact was first spread before us? Nor is it to be wondered at: What Ear can hear, what Tongue can utter, what Heart can imagine, the transcendant Iniquity of that stupendious Act, without having his Blood seared with Indignation against it, and his Soul possessed with an Abhorrency of it! that a King, the best of Kings, the best of Men, the best of Christians; he who had cloathed us in Scarlet, and had turned our Iron into Brass, our Brass into Silver, and our Silver into Gold; a Prince, whose Prerogatives were our Ornaments, not our Burthens; whose Power was our Safety, not our Danger; our Security, not our Fear; a Prince, in whose Reign, and under whose Government, the Church might more truly be called Triumphant than Militant: That this Prince, Sir, should be haled to the Bar as a Criminal, should be arraigned, accused, condemned, under the black Characters of Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer; that he should be reviled, spit on, reproached, upbraided, despised, contemned, nay, murdered, murdered at his own Door, murdered in the View and Sight of his own People; murdered, with all the unworthy Accumulations and smarting Circumstances of Affronts and Indignities, which either Malice could contrive, or Barbarity execute; is a Wickedness so superlatively exceeding all the Instances of Wickedness acted in former Ages, that we may truly say of it, it is that *quod nunquam vidit antiquitas et ægre credent posterit.*

Certainly,



Certainly, Sir, I may say, and I doubt not, but you are of the same Opinion, that such then was the full, free and universal Concurrence of this whole House, in expressing their Detestation of this hellish Parricide, that if the Edge of their Justice had not been abated by I know not what prudent Considerations obstructed upon them, there had not been one of these Caitiffes now living, to have been the Occasion of so unhappy a Difference betwixt the Lords and us.

And if such were the Resentments we then justly had of the Injuries done to that good murdered Prince, whilst we were yet ignorant of the Virtues of his Son, how much deeper must these Resentments be now radicated in us, who find ourselves so much the more endeared to the Memory of the Father, by how much the more experimentally we taste and feel the Benefits we enjoy and hope to enjoy under the most excellent Government of his incomparable Son. This Consideration alone, if there were no other, would be enough to fire our Minds with such Indignation against these Canibals, that were there a thousand of them, an Army of them, we should rather study how to heap complicated Deaths upon them, than make it our Concern to save their Lives; could we resign them up to all the Miseries that the Rage of that Revenge could devise, or could command upon the Pains of the infernal Pit, could we arm that great Scorpion Death with Ten thousand Stings, or bring upon them all those Torments which Poets have invented to bugbear Men from the Practice of Vice, all this would be little to be inflicted upon them as the Punishment of so unparalleled a Villany. For my own part, I must declare, that as it was my very great Trouble to see you mangle and cramp your Justice, by confining it to so small a Number as Seven, so there is nothing I could more heartily rejoice in, or concur with, than the giving a larger Commission to your destroying Angel now. If the single Question were concerning these Men's Lives only, I do not see how any one here, nor have I reason to believe, that any one here would be backward to pronounce this Sentence without any Discrimination upon them all, *Satiunt se sanguine quam sitierunt*, they have thirsted after Blood, give them therefore their own Blood to drink, for they are most worthy; fill up the Cup of Vengeance to the Brim, and

put it into their Hands, and make them to drink it ; yea, drink the Dregs of it till they be drunken therewith, and stagger, and reel, and fall, and never rise any more ; and may all those so perish who are the Enemies of our Sovereign Lord the King, and let all the People of *England* say, *Amen*.

This were a Sentence, Sir, most deservedly due to such Criminals, and surely they had not been thus long without it, if you conceived yourselves at liberty to give it ; but this is your Unhappiness at present, and I pray God it proves not an Unhappiness to the Nation, that you have so fettered yourselves by your own Votes and Proclamations, that what is just they should suffer, you are not clear, that you in Justice can inflict upon them. How to extricate you out of this Difficulty, *Hic labor hoc opus est*. I do not think that a more perplexing Question did ever come into this House ; it seems to goar you with this Dilemma, either that, on the one hand, you should remit something of the Severity due to the worst of Malefactors, which would not be for the Honour of your Justice ; or, on the other hand, that you should depart from your own Engagements ; which I am sure would much impeach the never to be violated Faith and Reputation of this honourable Assembly. Whether it has proceeded from my Weakness, or from the real Nicety, or Curiosity of the Question, I shall not determine, but I will not be ashamed to acknowledge to you, that till now I could not bring myself to such a Fixation, as to be positive in any Opinion ; and what my Judgment is, *super tot neuter*, and upon what Reason grounded, I shall humbly crave Leave briefly to acquaint you.

The Arguments that have been urged for your now agreeing with the Lords, as near as I can remember, have been drawn either from your Votes, wherein you are single, acting only within yourselves, or from the Proclamations wherein you are conjoined in a Concurrence with the King and House of Lords. As to your Votes, you have been put in mind, that upon mature Deliberation you have voted, that only Seven should die for the King's Murder ; and afterwards, by other Votes, have proceeded to the Nomination of those Seven Persons ; from which Votes, in a Matter so serious, as the Lives of Men, it is urged, that in Honour, you cannot recede to this Objection ; the Answer has been ready,

ready, and often given, that you are so far Masters of your own Votes, that upon better Reasons appearing to you, you can alter and retract as you see Occasion; that this is done frequently in divers Bills, and particularly in this Bill, as appears by divers Instances, why your Votes, which are not conclusive to yourselves, should be any more conclusive to the Lords, who have an equal Share in the legislative Power, more than theirs to you; and why you should more insist upon them in this Case than in others, where the Inducements to recede were not stronger, if so strong as in this, I confess, I cannot understand. The Arguments urged upon you from the Proclamations, have been raised, either from the Title of the Proclamation, or the Penalty in case of Non-conformity to the Commands of the Proclamation, from whence is infered a negative Implication; these have been often and largely insisted upon by many learned Gentlemen of the long Robe, and others; but the Arguments on the other Side, seem to me, much the stronger and more powerful.

Upon the whole, Sir, I cannot see, that either the Votes abstractly considered by themselves, or the Proclamation precisely considered by itself, does, in Honour and Conscience, oblige you to an immoveable Adherence. The Proclamation is necessarily to be construed with the Votes previous to it, and both it and them being so construed together, an Adherence to them is highly incumbent on you for these Reasons: First, Because the Proclamation took its first Rise from you. Secondly, It was grounded upon a Reason of State, which was a valuable Consideration for the Benefit held forth in the Proclamation to those that did, in the Time limited, conform themselves to the Commands. Thirdly, Those that did come in upon the Confidence of your Proclamation, did part with that Security which was valuable to the Benefit promised. Fourthly, It was really the Intentions of this House, that they that did come in should have the Benefit of the Proclamation, as will appear, 1. By an Appeal to every Man's particular Conscience. 2. By open Matters of fact. Fifthly, It is manifest, that those that did come in, did thus understand your Proclamation, and upon that Confidence cast themselves upon your Honour. Sixthly, The whole Nation in general, as well those that are not concerned, as those that are, have, and



do so understand. Sir, this last is not, to me, the least prevalent Reason, nor the least powerful Consideration; it is the Honour of this House, and nothing else but the Honour of this House, that in all this Debate has been consulted; I am sure there is nothing but the tender Care and Regard which I have (and ought) of that, which does embolden me thus to give you the Trouble of this Discourse. If therefore your Honours be that which is at stake, I pray consider which way this is best to be preserved. It is one of the greatest Unhappineffes of Man, that that which of all things is most valuable to him (his Honour) is least of all in his own Possession.

The best Course that any Person, public or private, can take to secure this slippery Thing, is to act with so much Clearness and Ingenuity, that Malice itself will not have the Power to impeach his Actions. Now, Sir, suppose (for I would, by Supposition, allow the most that could be thought of) suppose, I say, you were satisfied, upon the Reasons you have heard (which I confess are weighty ones) that, notwithstanding your Votes and Proclamation, there is yet Room and Scope enough left you to criticise these Men out of their Lives; I will not deny, but perhaps you might make a hard shift, with a great many good Words, and fine Prevarications, to put such a Gloss upon it, that the wiser sort of People, who are good at distinguishing, may entertain a pretty good Opinion of what you do. But I need not tell you, Sir, that the greatest Number of Men, to whom you are to approve yourselves, and by whose Judgment you must stand or fall, are not Critics, nor to be made Critics; they would rather, Sir, a Man should right down play the Knave with them, than they would have one who is so mysteriously honest, that they must take pains to find him out; they will not put themselves to the trouble of nice Distinction to save your Credit, nor the Credit of all the Parliaments that ever were in *England*. Can it be imagined, Sir, that those that whistle at the Plough, or sit in their Shops all their Lives-time (and such are the Judges you are like to have) will these Men, think you, turn Philosophers on purpose upon this Occasion; do you think, Sir, that they have nothing else to do but make Syllogisms to defend your Reputations. Upon my Word, Sir, they go a nearer way to work, they

they judge of Things as they present themselves *primâ facie*; and when they have once made their Conclusion, I would fain see that Logician that can dispossess them. The Case then standing thus, it is not sufficient to tell you, that according to nice and strict Rules of Logic and Grammar, such an Interpretation is to be put upon your Votes and Proclamation, as leaves you a Latitude to recede from your first Votes (though that is more than I will allow to be true) but he that will be trusty, careful and tender of your Reputation, must shew you how you should make common People understand this, before he advises you to do it. Really, Sir, give me leave to tell you, that if you be once taken notice of to be a Parliament that is cunning to evade your own Words, and in speaking oraculously in doubtful Senses, the honest Countryman, yea, and the Citizen too, will be as much afraid of you, as usually they are of those whom they call Conjurers, they will not dare to come near you, or have any thing to do with you for fear of Tricks to be put upon them. Pardon, Sir, I beseech you, this Bluntness of Speech and Freedom, I should not presume to be thus bold with you but for your Honour's Sake, which I do profess I value, and will value above my own Life, or any Concern of mine in this World.

There comes to my Mind an excellent Saying of *Julius Cæsar* concerning his Wife, whom he had repudiated, *suos non tantum crimine sed suspitione cavere oportet*. Methinks a House of Commons should be as jealous of their Honour as *Cæsar* of his.

*Letters of Lord HOWARD to --- [no Name.]*

*It may please your good Lordship,*

**M**Y Hand never moves so heavily upon Paper, as when the Distresses of my perplexed Condition compel me to give your Lordship a Trouble in my own Concern; it being much more agreeable to my natural Temper, and the Design of my Life (if my unkind Fortune did not thwart it) to appear rather as a Person studious how to contrive myself into some Usefulness for His Majesty's Service, than as One importunate and sollicitous about my

my own Affairs. But, as Wounds (though they cannot be opened without some Smart, yet they cannot be neglected without more Danger) so such, my Lord, are my Wants, my very pressing Wants, at present, that as I know not how to express them without offering Violence to my own Genius, so I cannot longer conceal them without sitting down under absolute Ruin. Besides the violent Impulse of Necessity, the miserable Effect of my Unfortunacy, I have a gentler and more comfortable Encouragement to this Application, from the Assurances of your Lordship's Kindnesses, which have already been most significantly expressed to me by many real and effectual Benefits bestowed upon me.

It was by your Lordship's Favour only, that I was at first so far received into the King's good Opinion, as to be allowed a Place in the Catalogue of those who did desire to serve him; it was by your Lordship's Favour only, that my weak but faithful Endeavours (when most unsuccessful) were yet so advantageously represented, that they found the Acceptance of more happy Undertakings; and it is by your Lordship's Favour only, that, since His Majesty's happy Restoration, I have not been altogether without some Evidences and Fruits of his gracious Inclinations towards me; and that I do every Day (which is better to me than Life, and without which my Life would be a Burthen to me) enjoy those benign Aspects of his Countenance, which though (like the Morning Appearance of the Sun) they have hitherto brought more Light than Warmth with them, yet they have and do quicken me to an hopeful Expectation, that I may hereafter in time feel the Influences of his Grace more and more beneficially operative and powerful upon me. Now, my Lord, notwithstanding, that when I reflect upon myself, I have Reason enough to fear, from a true Apprehension of my many Defects, that your Lordship may see Cause to repent you of this your Kindness begun to me; yet, on the other side, when I remember that there is nothing wherein great Persons can so much imitate either the omnipotent Power, or the immense Goodness, of the great Creator, as in acting without the Foundation or Predisposition of a Subject-matter; I am again encouraged to conceive Hopes, that your Lordship will not altogether forget the Workmanship of your own Hands, for such, my Lord, I am proud to declare myself



self to be, nor shall I ever be ambitious of any greater Honour than to be so accounted.

These, my Lord, have been the Thoughts with which I have thus long endeavoured to buoy and bear up my sinking Spirits, above the high-going Waves and Billows of a boisterous and tempestuous Fortune; 'til now at last, finding myself just ready to be overwhelmed and swallowed up, I am enforced to lift up my Voice to your Lordship, in the Words of that doubting Disciple to our Saviour, when he had less Cause to be afraid, *Domine me fac saluum.*

I know it becomes me not to trouble your Lordship long, nor indeed do I take any Pleasure to dwell long upon a Discourse of this nature: Briefly, therefore, to acquaint your Lordship with a true State of my Case, it stands thus with me: I am as a Person against whom Adversity seems to have laid a close Siege; within, threatned with Famine; and without, with the Danger of a cruel Enemy: When I think to keep myself within the Intrenchments of a retired Life, and to escape the more violent Assaults of a peevish Fortune, by making myself a Recluse in my Chamber, where I might quietly enjoy the good Company of my Books, and my own melancholy Thoughts; I find I cannot possess myself long of this Contentment, for want of that which should bring in those Reliefs to me which Nature expects at my Hands: On the other side, when I am about to take up a Resolution to sally out into the World, to seek a Livelihood by an industrious Practice in the way of my Profession, I give up myself as a Prey to my hasty and impatient Creditors, who think themselves half paid when I am quite undone.

This, my Lord, is my Condition, which I have lately represented in a Petition to His Majesty; who (according to his accustomed Goodness) did express such tender and compassionate Sentiments of my Misfortunes, and was pleased to give me such Assurances of a speedy Relief from his princely Bounty, that if your Lordship would be pleased to be his Remembrancer in my Behalf, and so far to take me into your Patronage, as to co-operate with his propense Inclination, I cannot doubt of the good Success. I humbly leave myself at your Lordship's Feet, expecting from your Mouth the Sentence of Life or Death: This only

only I shall crave Leave to add, which I beseech your Lordship to entertain for an unfeigned Truth, that as I cannot hope to live but by your Lordship's, so I would not desire to live but to your Lordship's Service; for which, though there be many better fitted by Opportunities, or better qualified by their Parts and Abilities, yet there is none, I am sure, that shall with more constant Steadiness direct all his Motions to that End, and with more Chearfulness frame himself into a Conformity to all your Lordship's Commands, than,

my LORD,

*Your Lordship's most humbly devoted Servant.*

---

*Lincoln's-Inn, this 22d of June, 1660.*

My LORD,

**I** Find it so impossible a thing to gain such an Opportunity of Privacy with your Lordship as I have long desired and sought for, that I am constrained to have recourse, at last, to this new way, of whispering into your Lordship's Ear, from time to time, a few humble and modest Complaints; to which, if your Lordship shall please to give Audience at your best Leisure, I shall, with a chearful Patience, expect the further Issues of your good Pleasure towards me.

My Lord, It is very far from my Purpose, to fetch any Arguments for myself, from the presumptuous Topic of any opiated Merits of my own: As my Religion teaches me better Manners, than to stile myself any thing but an *unprofitable Servant*, in respect of God, so I would be unwilling to appear so ill-instructed in the Maxims of a Subject, as to lay claim to Reward as a Debt due to me from my Sovereign; nay, I do profess, my Lord, if I can boast of any thing, it is of this, that the Sense of my Duty hath ever been the sole Impulse upon me in all my Undertakings; and my Zeal to serve His Majesty, has winged my Soul with Desires so much above my low Performances, that when I look back upon what I have done, or rather assayed to do, I cannot but be ashamed of them, as of poor, weak, abortive,

abortive Endeavours, such as I dare not presume to call by the Name of Services; nevertheless, this is my great Consolation, that the very Intentions of my Heart have found more gracious Acceptance from His Majesty than was due to them, though the Success had fully answered my Design; which is principally to be ascribed to your Lordship's extraordinary Kindness to me, which has found out a way to place Figures before my Cyphers, and to give that the Reputation of Something, which in just Value has been Nothing: I mean nothing more at this Time than to acknowledge your Goodness to me, whose Heart, if you could see it, would testify with what Sincerity of Affection and Gratitude, I am,

*Your Lordship's, &c.*

N.B. Pardon, my Lord, I beseech you, the Trouble of this Apology for myself, which (perhaps) may appear more than either the Innocency I pretend to does need, or the Satisfaction your Lordship professes to have concerning me; I confess I have always been of Opinion, that much laboured Excuses, if they are not to be looked upon as Arguments of Guilt, yet they are most commonly the Indications of a weak Mind, not sufficiently possessed of that Assurance which naturally results from a well-grounded Conscience, fortified with an impregnable Innocency. But I am not altogether unwarranted in what I do, from the Authority of that excellent Person the renowned Lord *Verulam*, who tells us, it is but a decent Regard we owe to our Reputation. As those never omit to burn Perfumes in those Rooms which (by any Accident) happen to be annoyed with a Stink; so it is as necessary, that he who would be careful of his Reputation, must be content sometimes to use some honest Arts to sweeten the Air about him, and to subdue or suppress those ill Savours which Calumny and Detraction are wont to leave behind them: To which Care I cannot but think myself the more obliged by this Reflection, that all the Credit I either have or hope to have with the King, is to be placed to your Lordship's Account, who has been pleased so far to own me, as to enter into a kind of Security for my Good Behaviour; and I know very well, that what *Cæsar* said, upon the Occasion of some Discourses concerning his repudiated Wife, is no less true of all Persons in that high Station in which your Merit

H h h

has



has placed you, \* *Suos non tantum crimine; sed suspitione cavere oportere*. So long as I have the Happiness of being unsuspectedly in your Friendship and Confidence, no Stone from any other Quarter will much affect me, they may help to untile the weak and tottering Fabric, the outer Man, but cannot shake the Mind of,

My LORD,

*Your Lordship's most devoted, &c.*

My LORD,

**I**T is an Observation of great Use to the Assertors of Religion, that as there has never been a People in any Age, who have not, from the common Light of Nature, been brought under the awful Apprehensions of some Deity; so neither has been any Generation of Men (howsoever barbarous and savage they may appear in other things) who have not, from the same common Principle, been induced to form to themselves some way of Worship, by which they might be able significantly to express a grateful Acknowledgment of the Benefits they receive from that divine Power to which they owe their Being. Hence it comes to to pass, that into whatsoever blind or dark Corner of the World we cast our Eyes, we every where find, not only frequent Dedication of Altars, but also Altars made fat with the richest Sacrifices and daily Oblations; and to this, certainly, the Poet had a Respect in those Expressions, or rather Charge which he gives, after he had declared *Augustus* to be his God, and which your Lordship is too good a Classic to stand in need of my Quotation.

My Lord, from hence I am instructed, that it is not sufficient that I should have my Heart only affected with a religious Sense of the many great Favours for which I stand eternally obliged to your Lordship (which to want were unpardonable Atheism) but that my Hand also should be ready to give some outward Attestation of the inward Adoration of a grateful Mind (which to omit totally, could be called no less than inexcusable Impiety). Notwithstanding, therefore, that I am not ignorant, that high Altars ought not to be approached but with more than ordinary Solemnity, yet when I consider, that though *Hecatombs* make a thicker Smoke and send a more conspicuous and pompous Present to the Gods, yet that the Fume of mean Gums and low-priced

\* My Lord seems mighty fond of this Passage, having quoted it before.

priced Spices find a more easy and quick Ascent, and give as good an Intimation to Heaven of the pious Intention of the humble and devout Adorer ; I am not only emboldened to come with this small Offering to your Lordship, but am also encouraged to hope, that though the Value of it is in no Degree either suitable to the Dignity of your Person, or proportionable to the Measure of those Benefits which I have received ; yet that your Lordship will be pleased to accept it, as the best Signification which the Narrowness of my Fortune can express of that Honour and Regard to your Lordship, with which I am, &c.

June 30, 1673.

*My most honoured and singular good LORD,*

THE comforting Assurance your Lordship lately gave me, that those unjust Reports concerning me, had made no Impressions upon you to my Disadvantage, gives me the Confidence still to hope, that you have not yet put me out of your Protection, and that you will not be backward to build upon your own Foundation, by deriving to me the Benefit of those gracious Inclinations of the King, which I have reason to believe have been the sole Effects of your kind and favourable Representations. The Truth is, my Lord, when I made my Application to his Majesty, I found him in so propense a Disposition to grant what I desired, that I could not but conclude that your Lordship's Kindness had prevented me, and that you had smoothed the Way for my Address by a previous Preparation ; who, upon the first Intimations of the Distresses of my Condition, with a princely Frankness and Generosity, immediately gave me a Promise of a present Supply, and to make it the more speedily effectual to me, directed me to your Lordship as my Patron, in whose Care, he knew I must needs account myself most safe. From this free Indulgence of the King's Grace towards me, I think I may warrantably comfort myself with this Perswasion, that (at that time) his Ears had not been disturbed with any of those spiteful Insinuations against me ; and if your Lordship shall find, that the same peevish Spirit, which has endeavoured to possess you with an ill Opinion of me, has been active also in imprinting the like Jealousies upon his royal Breast, though I can-

not think it an easy Matter to deliver myself from the Prejudice of such malicious Whispers, yet I am not altogether hopeless (supported by a Conscience of my own Integrity) that might I but be admitted to make my Vindication before his Majesty, I should be able to put myself under a better Character, and make it to be understood, that those very Discourses of mine (whatsoever they have been) which either Malice or Mistake has made Arguments of my Disaffection to the Government, have been the greatest Indications of my Loyalty, and the best and clearest Evidences I can give, of a Mind most religiously addicted, and most intirely devoted to the real Service of the King and Kingdom. I will not deny, my Lord, nay, I must ingenuously confess, that I have been of the Number of those (not the worst of his Majesty's Subjects) who have been much amused at some late Proceedings, nor do I see why I should dissemble, that as I have not been altogether without making my private Remarks upon some late Transactions and Traverses of the Times, so I have sometimes (as Occasion has offered itself, and when I have judged it seasonable) assumed the Liberty of expressing my Sentiments of the dangerous Tendency of some dark and mysterious Councils, which seemed to me to have a most affrighting Aspect, and such as (not without just Cause) have filled me oftentimes with trembling Apprehensions concerning the (too much exposed) Safety of that, in which alone is involved the Safety of all honest *Englishmen*, the sacred Person of the King.

That this, my Lord, has not been the Disease of an ill-affected Spleen, nor the Caprice of a worse affected Mind, or the vain and idle Phantasm of a deluded Understanding, might be strongly enough evinced, from the concurrent Fears, and (almost) universal Consternation of the whole Nation at once; but besides these Things, which (being of public Notice, and obvious to common View) have been the Matter of all Men's Observation as well as mine, there are some other Things which (perhaps) have been peculiar to myself, and confined within the Limits of my own Knowledge, which (however I have hitherto kept them smothered in my Breast) have been as Coals, of Fire within me, which have fevered my Soul with such an inward Heat and Fervour of Thoughts, as has sometimes conveyed a more than ordinary Warmth



Warmth to my Discourses, and provoked me to give stronger Accents to my Words than I should have done, if I had been so fortunate as to have continued more ignorant of that, which has hitherto been my great Perplexity, and may hereafter prove my Inconveniency to have known.

These Things, my Lord, which, in the Nature of them, are of too nice a Concern to be whispered in the Ear of any Subject, I have thought it my Duty to have laid open to the King, long before this time, if I had found Encouragement from a fit Opportunity; and could I yet hope to have Credit enough with him to gain Belief of that, (the Truth whereof seems every Day to be more and more confirmed by many Circumstances) I should think it no hard matter to persuade him, that there are some Persons (of no small Eminency, and in no small Trust about him) who may justly be concluded to be of a much more (to be suspected) Disaffection both to the King and Government than myself, who, if I know any thing of the Complexion of my own Soul, would cheerfully deposite my Life for the Conservation of either. My Heart is too full to offer any thing more to your Lordship than an Assurance from the Bottom of that Heart, that I am,

*Your Lordship's most devoted, &c.*

My LORD,

October 9, 1673.

**T**HOUGH the unkind Reception I met with from his Majesty and your Lordship was no small Surprise to me, yet I find my Trouble much alleviated by a Consciousness of my own Innocency, which bears up my Spirit above all my present Sufferings, with this Assurance, that the present Jealousies upon me are nothing else but the empty Vapours of some malicious Brain, which may for a time (perhaps) obscure me in a Cloud, but must necessarily, after a little while, vanish and leave me shining in the Lustre of my own Integrity. The Truth is, my Lord, if I had not been too confident, upon the Strength of my Sincerity (which I have ever been apt to think Armour of Proof against all the Assaults of Malice) I might have been forewarned  
of

of the Evil that is come upon me, from the sensible Alteration of your Lordship's Countenance towards me, which your Lordship knows gave me so great a Disquiet, and put me under a Scrutiny of Thoughts, that, like one groaping in the Dark, I was many Weeks turning over every Stone, and torturing my Mind with various and uncertain Guesſes and Conjectures at the Causes of your Lordship's Displeasure; which, though it was in great part dissembled, yet it did discover itself in such plain Significations, that I must have been stupid not to have drawn it into Observation. I must confess, I should have guessed long enough, before I should have thought of that, which, by my last Discourse with your Lordship in St. James's Park, I found (to my great Astonishment) to be the true Ground of the Umbrage I lay under, viz. an Apprehension that I was the sole, or at least, the partial Author of that *seditionous Pamphlet* called, *The Appeal*. This, my Lord, you know you hinted to me then, but withal, protested to me, that you were not under any Impressions of the Belief of it; but looked upon the Information you had received (as indeed you had good Reason to do) to proceed only from the mistaken Interpretation of some Actions of mine (during the time of my last being at the *Hague*) which though they might justly be suspected by those who stood at a Distance, and were ignorant of the mysterious Part I had to act, yet were too well understood by yourself to be made the Foundation of any Suspicion. I rather chuse to comfort myself with the Remembrance, than to trouble your Lordship with the Repetition of the many kind Expressions you were then pleased to use to confirm me in a Belief that I stood unshaken in your Thoughts, and should hereafter find the real Effects of your Kindness towards me upon all Occasions; with which Assurance, being built up stronger than before in a renewed Confidence of your Favour, I undertook this second Expedition into *Holland*; out of a Zeal I had to improve any Opportunity I could possess myself of to perform some Service for his Majesty, and give what Credit I was able to your Recommendation of,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most devoted, &c.

*Sir Dudley Carleton to the Earl of Salisbury, in his Majesty's Office of Papers and Records for Business of State.*

I Have nothing worthie his Majesties Knowledge, yet hold it my Duty to give an Account of my self, as well on the Way, as the Execution of his Commands in the End of my my Journie; Wherein having no manner of Charge but Expedition, I have performed as much as the length of the Way would permitt. From *London* I came furnished with double Provision as well of Letters of Exchange and other Addresses to *Strasburgh*, and *Ausburgh* by the way of *Germanie*, as to *Paris* and this Towne, because I would have it in my Power to take the best Course. But coming to *Amiens* where the Ways divide themselves, I understood of some Levies at *Stratsburgh* upon appearance of Troubles there, and likewise of the return of the *French Army* from *Cleve*, whereof the most part disbanded on the Frontiers; and therefore chose this Way though the longer, rather than run hazard among those Stragglers. By the way I have made no stay in any place save at *Paris* onely, and there no more than was requisit for necessarie Provision of Transportation. For government of my self in that Place where the Court was then present, I referred my self to my Lord Ambassador there resident, and with his advise sent to Monsieur *de Pyseux* in absence of Monsieur *Villeroy* to let him understand that passing by that Court *pour la bien seance*, I could not but offer my self to kiss the King and Queenes hands, yet not to be importunat at a time of so much Business, nor to fayle of that Dutie which might be expected. The next day I went in companie of my Lord Ambassador to Monsieur *de Villeroy*, who was then come to *Paris*, and told him that being in doubt of the way I should take, I came unfurnished of Letters or other Commission to the King and Queen; but having charge from his Majestie to shew particular respect above other to the *French Ambassador* at *Venice*, I had made offer by



the means of Monsieur *de Physeux* to present my self to their Majesties and to receive their commaunds, but being prest with hast in my Journie, I desired him to hold me excused that I could not further attend a time of leisure for that Ceremony. He told me that theyr Majesties being then upon theyr departure, the *Sacre* had the less time to spare for any thing but necessarie affaires, and offred me in their Names all helps for my Journie yf I should stand in neede of any through this Countrie, and likewise to write to theyr Ambassador at *Venice* to hold all good correspondencie with me. I understood by my Lord Ambassador extraordinarie that the Prince of *Janville* taking Knowledge by his Lordship that I had charge from his Majestie to advance his Sute with the State at *Venice*, had a Purpose to visit me, but my small stay (as may seem) prevented his cuming. The *Venetian* Ambassador was with me twice during my abode there, and once the Ambassador of the United Provinces. To the former I returned a Visit, but to the other was forced to excuse my self by Message, in regard of my hastie departure. The two Ambassadors extraordinary from *Venice*, *Andrea Agussod* and *Agostino Nani*, going to *Paris* like *Heracitus* and *Democritus*, the one to condole, the other to congratulate, I mist on the midway betwixt this and *Orleans*, they taking the commoditie of the River for theyr Descent. *Giorgio Giustiniano* who is to succede *Antonia Giustiniano* now resident at *Paris*, is as I heare on the way hetherwards, and I am like to meet him amongst the Mountaines. Through *Picardie*, and at *Paris*, it was my Fortune still to light in the Steps of my Lord of *Cranburne*, cuming most commonly to the same Lodging, and within few Howers of his remove, and fownd he left nothing behind him, save only the Reputation *d'un noble cavallier*, and *d'un train bien regle*. Upon the same reason which guided me hether, he turned his Course this way and parted from this Towne on *Saturday* last being owr *Michaelmas* Day. I am now upon the point to follow. Here upon the place in the Countrie of *Lionnois* and *Bajoux* I find a Levie in hand of 4000 Foote and 200 Horse for the Assistance of the Duke of *Savoy*. The

Cap-

Captaines under the command of the Count *de la Roche*, are an old Follower of the Dukes in the time of the late Warrs, and one Monsieur *de Grange* a young Gentilman, and as Coronells, have had theyr Commiſſions theſe three weeks, but tucht no Monie till this day, there being now ſome proviſion come from *Paris* to this purpoſe, under colour of payment of the D. of *Savoy*s annual Pention which he receaves from thence. What uſe ſhall be made of theſe Men I cannot learne more then that they ſhall lie in Garrifon at *Vercelli* and thereabout upon the Frontiers of *Navara* and *Milan* for feare of the *Spaniſh* Troops, which are of late augmented in thoſe parts. They begin to march within ten days, mean time the ſecond Son of *Savoy*, *Philibert*, is paſt this way in ſolemn Ambaſſade to the King of *Spaine* to remove yf he may all Jealouſies conceived againſt his Father.

The D. of *Nemours* is the chief Autor of theſe Levies and Monsieur *Deſguires* a great Aſſiſtant, who doth likewise reinforce his own Troopes, and draw them down in readineſs to ſecond theſe. Thoſe of *Geneva* take allarm at theſe Motions, and have drawn five Companies of theyr Neighbours the Proteſtant Cantons into theyr Towne in Garrifon. Now that the D. of *Savoy* ſhall ſend his Son into *Spaine*, and Arme in *Pie-mont*; and that *Geneva* ſhould be ſo apprenſive, where *Deſguires* ſhews ſuch forwardneſs, are as the *Spaniards* term them *Diſparates*, and onely thought the effects of Jelouſie without further deſeign, the *Savoyard* being ſometimes in feare of the *Spaniard*, and thoſe of *Geneva* always of the Duke.

Yf I ſhould now make obſervation of the veiw of this Countrie, which is all I could take in my courſe through it, I muſt needs confeſs that in regard of ſumtuous Buildings, of cutting new Cannals for transport of Merchandiſe, of paving high ways almoſt through whole Provinces, of building Bridges, and other publicke Workes, *France* hath a new Face; but in reſpect of Tirannie of Landlords, of exceſſive Tailles and Impoſts raiſed uppon theſe publicke Pretenſes, there is ſuch a poore face of a People, and ſuch extreme Miſerie, that as happines is onely knowne by compariſon, I could not but every hower bleſs the

time we enjoy under his Majesties most happie Government, which I pray Allmightie God long to continue in Peace and Prosperitie ; and your Lordship in Health and all Felicitie, resting, as I am ever bound,

*Your Lordships*

*most faithfully devoted*

*to your Service,*

From Lyons, these 4th  
of 8ber 1610, Anno  
Brittaniae.

DUDLEY CARLETON.

To the Right Honourable my singular good Lord the Earl of  
*Salisbury.*

Anno Domini 1561:

*William Muigay*, Esq; Mayor of the City of *Norwich*, his Expences for a Dinner, at which he feasted the Duke of *Norfolk*, &c. the Lords, Knights and Gentry of the County.

<b>E</b> IGHT Stone of Beef, at Fourteen-pound	l	s	d
to the Stone. ——— ——— ———	0	5	4
Two Collars of Brawn ——— ——— ———	0	1	4
Four Geese ——— ——— ———	0	1	4
Eight Puits of Butter, ——— ——— ———	0	1	6
A Fore-quarter of Veal, ——— ——— ———	0	0	10
A Hind-quarter, Ditto, ——— ——— ———	0	1	0
Leg of Mutton, ——— ——— ———	0	0	3
Loyn of Mutton, and Shoulder of Veal, ——— ——— ———	0	1	0
A Breast and Coast of Mutton, ——— ——— ———	0	0	7
Six Plovers, ——— ——— ———	0	1	0
	<hr/>		
	0	14	2



# of LETTERS.

517

	l	s	d
Brought over,	0	14	2
Four brace of Partridges,	0	2	0
Four couple of Rabbits,	0	1	8
Two Guinea Pigs,	0	1	0
Four couple of Hens,	0	2	0
Two couple of Mullards,	0	1	0
Thirty-four Eggs,	0	1	0
Two Bushell of Flour,	0	1	6
Sixteen Loaves of white Bread,	0	0	4
Eighteen wheaten Bread,	0	0	9
Three Loaves Mislin, Ditto,	0	0	3
One Barrel double Beer,	0	2	6
One Barrel small, Ditto,	0	1	0
One Quarter of Wood,	0	2	2
Nutmegs, Mace, Cinnanmon, and Greens,	0	0	3
Four Pound of Barberys and Sugar,	0	1	6
Fruit and Almonds,	0	0	7
Sweet Water and Perfumes,	0	0	4
Sixteen Oranges,	0	0	2
Two Gallons of White-Wine, and Claret,	0	2	0
One Quart of Sack,	0	0	9
One Quart of Malmfey,	0	0	5
One Quart of Bustard,	0	0	3
One Quart of Muscadine,	0	0	6
	1	18	1

A S P E E C H made by *Johnny Martyn* of *Norwych*; a Wealthy, Honest Man, after Mr. Mayor *Muigay's* Dinner. Found in the Collection of one *Turner* of *Lyn Regis*.

**M**AISTER Mayor of *Norwych*, and it please your Worship, you have feasted us like a King, God bless the Queen's Grace. We have fed plentifully, and now whilom I can

can speak plain *English*, I heartily thank you Master Mayor, and so do we all, answer Boys, answer; your Beer is pleasant and potent; and will soon catch us by the Caput, and stop our Manners. And so Huzza for the Queen's Majesty's Grace, and all her bonny browe'd Dames of Honour. Huzza for Master Mayor, and our good Dame Mayorefs. His noble Grace, there he is God save him and all this Jolly Company. To all our Friends round County, who have a Penny in their Purse, and an *English* Heart in their Bodys, to keep out *Spanish* Dons, and Papiests with their Faggots to burn our Whiikers. — Shove it about, Twrl your Cap Cafes, handle your Jugs, and huzza for Master Mayor, and his Brethren their Worships.

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A Particular of Mr. (afterwards Sir) *Thomas Wilks's* Embassies, after Eight Years Travels to foreign Princes and States, from *April* 1573, to *March* 1593; wrote with his own Hand, and signed with his own Name.

*April* 1573.

**A**FTER Eight Years travell in *France*, *Germanie* and *Italy*; being settled at his Studies in *Oxford*, he was by Comandment from the Queens Highnesse, at the Instance of Mr. Doctour *Dale*, in *April* 1573, called from his Studies, then being Fellow in Allsowles Colledge in *Oxford*, and sent over into *France*, as Secretarie with Doctor *Dale*, then Ambassador, Resident for her Majestie with the *French* King.

*May* 1574. Monsieur the King's Brother, and the King of *Navare*, presently after the Death of *Charles* the IXth, upon descouery of an Intention they had to have fled into *Germany*, there to have procured Succours for reforming the Abuses of the State, were committed to close Prison, at *Bois de Vincennes*; at which time her Majestie having a gracious Care to relieve

relieve them, did by special Commission to *Wilkes*, authorise him to attempt all means to speake with them, to deliver unto them her Majesties Promises for their Reliefe; wherein *Wilkes* did often adventure his Lief, upon remembrance whereof, the King that now is gave him of late the Title of Knighthoode.

*July 1574.* The Negotiation of *Wilkes* with theise two Princes, was discovered by Monsieur to the Queen his Mother, and *Wilkes* layed for, to have been taken in *Paris*; but being escaped by Means of the King that now is, was followed into *England*, with a bittir Lettre of Complainte from the Queen Mother to her Majestie against him, bearing Date the 10th of *July*.

*August 1574.* The 9th. of *August*, the Queenes Majestie being well informed of the Danger escaped by *Wilkes* in this Service, because her Honor was interess'd in that Negotiation; dothe notwithstanding retourne *Wilkes*, with her Lettres and Instructions to the Queen Mother, to deliur an Apologie of the Matters complained of against him, who with much appearance of Danger, trauelled to *Lyons* to the Quene Mother, and there performed her Majesties Directions.

*February 1574.* *Wilkes* after this Negotiation with the Quene Mother, remayned for the Quenes Majesties Services in *France*, till *February* following; and then was called home presently, and sent with Instructions and Lettres to the Conte *Frederick Pallatine*, the 22d. of *February*, to treat for the Levye of the great Armye, which in *November* following was conducted into *France*, by the Prince of *Conde* and the Duke *Casimire*.

*April 1575.* He retourned Home, and was immediately dispatched backe to followe and observe the Actions of that Warfare; wherein he spent some 14 Monethes, and gave from Time to Time Accompte of all that succeeded in that Enterprife.

*October*



*October 1575.* Before the Armye entred into *France*, he was intreated by the Prince of *Conde*, and the Palsgrave in *October*, to repaire to her Majestie, to acquainte her with their Preparations and the Time of their Intention to marche towardes *France*, and did then immediately retourne with her Majesties answer and dispathe to *Headleburgh*, and so forthwith departed towardes *France*, with the Armye being mounted at his own Charge, and so continued in his Service for the Time above-mentioned.

*June 1576.* *Wilkes* was by direction from her Majestie called Home (that Action being ended, and the Peace made) and was the 16th. of *June 1576*, sworne Clarke of the Counsaill in Ordinarie.

*December 1577.* At this Time he was sent to the King of *Spaigne* with her Majesties Lettres and Instructions of the 20th. of *December*, concerning the Matters between him and his Subjects of the *Lowe-Countrie*, traueilled into *Spaigne* by Sea, to *St. Sebastians*, and retourned Home by Lande through *France*.

*April 1578.* Ymediately after he was retourned in *England*, her Majestie did imploye him to Don *John D' Austria*, then Governor in the *Lowe-Countries*; and by the waie treated with Don *Matthias*, the Prince of *Aurange*, and Counsaile of State at *Antwerpe*: the whole Nobility of the Countries then revolted from the King, upon the Causes concerninn his Negotiation to the King of *Spaigne*.

*July 1586.* *Wilkes* was sent to the States-Generall of the *United-Provinces*, to bring her Majestie a Report of the State of those Countries, of their Government, &c. and returned Home in *September* following.

*October 1586.* He was sent againe in *October*, to reside there in the *Lowe-Countries*, as a publique Minister for her Majesties Service,

Service, and withall was a Counsaillour of Estate there, where he continued one whole yeare.

*May 1590.* Imploied againe to the States to renewe the Treatie and to demand Reformacon of certaine thinges omitted and mistaken in the same, where he continued by the Space of four Monethes.

*March 1592.* *Wilkes* was employed to the *Frenche* King with Letters and Instructions from her Majestie to treat with him for some Townes of Assurance, for the Securitie of her Succours sent to the King's Ayde into *Normandy* and *Britaigne*.

THO. WILKES.

*An original Love Letter of Sir George Hayward to  
in 1550.*

MY dereft friend, nay my seconde self, nay my inseparable self, natures perfection and heavens model, my only comfort and all my affliction, for I know nothing I have bin happie in but you (at least by way of comparifon) and in nothing so unhappie as in being forced thus violently from the injoyment of her company who all her sex may be proud to serve. A jayle or banishment from ones country, the sequestrations of ones friends, being deprived of the blessing of parents, poverty nay death it self be it in the foulest or horridest shape it can come could not be so unwelcome unto me as the contents of your last letter, by which I am more driven into dispair than ever, for it is full of bitterness, nay the very gall of bitterness. I would willingly intreat you to think of your promise unto me made by writing of the freedom of disposing your self, and I wyll rather set the world, reputation, friends and all, at nought and defyance, than be unhappie in being deprived of her who is life and all to me; and to that purpose I pray think of some means of getting a praul in a frosty  
U u u morning



morning very early, that if there be no remedy at all we may conclude of some course to be run in that kind, for I had rather a thousand times see death than live thus. They are vile Machivilians we have to do with, notwithstanding all the severity held against us, yet at Mothers they fell discoursing of your worth to try me, and I could not dissemble but go along with them in so apparent truths, and after they grew further to affirm that it was pity you should live sequestred in a prison from all your friends, and they could wish and would advise you might live here comfortably and in Company. Unto which I answered (tho' God knows much against my harte) that it were well it might be so; but howsomever it was fit you should give way to your uncle tho' it were ever so distasteful to you. And they fell further in discourse that it were happie that I fell into your company at *Yardelays* for they thought I was a good means to keep away Ruffins and base company that would have been to their dishonor. I am afraid all their seeming kindness to you is for their own ends, so take care of your self. He adviseth you thus who is more than father, mother, uncle and all friends, and so he shal hate to live if he make it not good. Think a little at the misery he endureth that is thus constant unto you without ends and then deal as your own hart will serve you. If you did but know how disharted I am for your absence you would find som morning evening or night to see him who is sick at hart. Let me conjure you as you have worth or ever bore me any affection to do it. I protest as I am a Gentleman you shall command me and my fortune. if you doubt this make your own propositions and if I deny you any dowrie, anie thing that my self or my fortune can afford I desire not to live, or which is more to live without you. I have deny'd my letters at my mothers tho' one would have thought she had seen them, but howsomever it had fallen out nothing could have drawn me from living and dying your servant if your own falsehood shal not prevent it, the which I am confident wil never be, and so not douting but you wil shew your self worthy unto me, I desire you wil excuse these scribled lines from a pen that was dipt



dipt in my hart and is true and sincere in every word it writes to you my soul's flame and chiefe delight, my only sweet object and every thing I want in this world. I protest I know not what to say to make you sensible of my constant love and how distemper'd I am for your affaires and care for your good. So I rest yours or indeed have no rest but in you who is so dear to, my Angel Joy and Comfort,

*Your affectionated and true friend  
and loving servant,*

G. H.

4 Jan. 1559.

As you love me burn this immediately lest your pockets be broken open by force as mine have bin for you.

*The King of Scotland to Queen Elizabeth.*

*Madame and dearest Sister,*

**I**N tymes of straitts true friends are best tryed, now merith he thanks of you and your country, who knowith himself a friend to your countrey and estate, and so to this tyme must moue me to utter my zeale to the religion and how neire a kinsman and neighbor I find my self to you and your country. For this effect then have I send you this present, hereby to offer unto you my forces, my personne, and all that I may command to be employed against your strangers in what faç'on and by whatsoever means as may best strive for the defense of your country, wherein I promise to behave my self not as a strangear and forrein prince but as your naturall sone and compatriote of your contrey in al respecties—Now Madame to conclude, as on the one parte I must hartilie thanke you for your honourable begynning by your Ambassadors in offers for my satisfactionn, so on the other parte I pray you to send presentlie

U u u 2

doun

doun comiffioneires for the perfyting of the fame, while I proteft I defire not for that I walde have the rewarde of any deserts but only that I with Honor, and all my gud subjectis with a fervent gud wile may Imbrace this your godly and honest caufe, wheirby your adverfaries may have ado, not with *England* but with the whole Yle of *Britayne*. Thus praying you to difpofe all your matters with all poffible fpeid and wifhing you a fuccesf conveniente to thofe that are invadid by Goddis professed enemies, I commit, Madame and deareft Sifter, your perfonne eftate and country to the bliffed protectionn of the Almightye. From *Edinburt* the fourt of *Auguft* 1588.

*Your moft Loving and affectionate  
Brother and Cufing, as tyme fhall  
now trye.*

J A M E S R.

*A Letter from the French King to Lord Suffex,  
from the Original in his own Hand.*

**M**ON cousin en voyent ce Jentilhome trouver la Royne voftre meftresse ce bien voulu vous escryre ce mot pour vous remerfier de tant de bons offices que vous maues faits aupres de la Royne, ie vous prie de continuer et de vous afurez que vous ne fauries iamies parler en faueur de prinse du monde que l'onnore plus que moy ne que affectione son contantement plus que ie ferai toute ma vye, ie vous prie m'emender de fes nouvelles, et me tenes touiours en fa bonne grasse et en reconpanse vous feres estat de moy coume du meilleur de vous amis prien dieu mon cousin vous a voyr en fa finte garde—D'Engiers se xxviii feurier

*Vos tre bien cousin.*

F R A N C O I S.

*Lady.*



*Lady Stafford to Mr. Secretary Cromwell.*

**M**After Sekrytory after my pour recommandaschyons which ys smally to be regardyd off me that ame a pour banyshd kreatur—Thys shall be to desyre you to be goode to my pour housbande and to me. I am seur yt ys nat oneknone to you the Hy dyspleasure that bothe he and I have bothe of the Kyngs Hynes and the Quens Gras by the resson of our maryagge wytheout thayr Knollyge wheryn we bothe doe yeld our selfs faulty and doe knollyge that we dyd nat welle to be so hasty nor so bold wytheout thayr Knollyge. But wone thyng good master sekretory confedar that he was younge; and love overcame resson, and for my part I saw so myche onesty yn hym that I loyd hyme as well as he dyd me and was yn bondagge and Glade I was to be at lybarty, so that for my part I saw that all the world dyd sete so lytyll by me and he so myche that I thoute I could take no betar way but to take hyme and to forsake all othar ways and lyve a pour oneste lyffe wythe hym; and so I doe pout no douts but we should, if we myht wons be so hapy to recouper the Kyngs Grasshyous favour and the Quens. For well I myht a had a greater Mane of byrth and a hyhar, but I ynswer you I could nevar a had wone that should a lovyd me so well nor a mor onest man, and byfydes that, he ys bothe come offe an aunssyent stok, and agayn as mete, (yeff yt was hys Grassys plesaur,) to doe the Kyng servys as any young Jentyllmane yne hys court; therefore good Master Sekretory thys shall be my sute to you that for the loue that well I kno you doe ber to all my bloude, tho' for my part I have nat defarvyd yt but smally bye the resson of my vylle condaschyons, as to pout my housband to the Kyngs gras that he may doe hys duty as all outhar Jentyllmene doe, and good Master Sekretory sue for us to the Kyngs Hynes and beshych his Hynes whyche ever was wount to take pety, to have pety one ous and that yt woull ples hys Gras of his goodines to speke to the Qwens Gras for ous; for as far as I  
cane



cane parlayve har Gras ys so Hyly dyspleffed wyth ous both that wythoute the Kyng be so Good Lord to ous as to wythdraw hys reguor and sue for ous we are never lyke to recovar har Grasys favoor, whych ys to hevy to ber. And seinge ther ys no remydy, for Gods sake help ous—for we have byne now a quarter off a yer maryyd I thanke God and to late now to call that agayn; wherfor yt ys the more Almones to helpe. Bout yeffe I war at my lebarty and myhte chous I ynseure you Maftar Sekretory for my lytyll tyme I haue tryyd so myche onesty to be yne hym that I had rathar beg my bred wyth hym thane to be the gretyst Quene kryftynd—and I bylyve veryly he ys yne the same cas wythe me for I bylyve veryly a would nat forsake me to be a Kyng, therfor good Maftar Sekretory beyng we are so well togethar and does ynetende to lyve so oneste a lyffe, though yt be but pour, shou part of your goodenes to ous as well as you doe to all the worlde byfyds; for I promys you ye have the name to helpe all them that hathe nede, and amonkst all your suetars I dar be bolde to say that you have no mater more to be pytyd thane ours, and therfor for Gods sake be good to ous for yne you ys all our troust and I beshych you good Maftar Sekretory pray my Lord my fathar and my Lady to be good to ous and to lete me have thayr blessingys and my Housband thayr good wyll and I wooll never desyr mor off them. Allso I pray you desyr my Lorde of *Norfolke* and my Lorde my brouthar to be good to ous, I dar nat wryte to theme they ar so cruel agaynst ous but yeff wyth any payne that I could take wythe my lyffe I myht wyne ther good wyls I promys you ther ys no chyld lyvyng would ventar mor than I; and so I pray you to report by me, and you shall fynd my wrytyng true and yn all poynts whyche I may ples theme yae, I shall be redy to obay theme neryst my Housband, home I ame moste bound to, to whom I most hartly beshych you to be good unto, whyche for my sake ys a pour banyfshed Mane for an Onest and a Godely cawes and beyng that I have red yne old Bouks that some, for awys joust caussiys have by Kyngs and Quens byn pardonnyd by the suete of Good Folks, I troust yt shall be our chans thourou your good help,  
to

to come to the same, as knoweth the God, who sende you helthe  
and harts ese. Scryblyd wyth her yll Hande, who ys your pour  
humble Suytor always to Commande.

MARY STAFFORD.

*To the Ryght Wourshypefull,*

*and my syngular good Frynde,*

*Maſtar Sekretory to the Kyng's*

*Hynes thys be, S. S.*

Le SERMENT que le Compte de Murray, à  
Prononcè pour le Government D'Escoſſe.

**J**E Jacques Compte de Murray en la presence de l'eternel  
mon Dieu, promets que durant la cource entiere de ma viè  
de seruir icelluy eternal mon Dieu, a mon extreme pouvoir,  
selon qu'il le requiert en sa tressainte parolle reuellée et contenue  
dans le Nouveau et Uiel Testaments, et suiuant icelle parolle, et  
la deue et droiete administration de ses Sacremens à present receue  
et pratiquée en ce Roiaulme; aussy aboliray et feray teste, a  
toute faux religion contraire a icelle, et gouverneray le peuple  
qui me'st commis en charge, selon le uoloire et commandement  
de Dieu contenu en sa dicte Parolle, et iouxte les louables loix  
et constitutionis recuis en ce Roiaulme, nullement repugnante à  
icelle parolle de l'Eternal mon Dieu, et procureray en toute ex-  
tremité à l'eglise de Dieu, et a toutes peuples Chrestiens, vraye  
et parfaite paix, et tout le tems advenir le droiets et rentes auec-  
ques tous les justes privileges de la Couronne d'Escoſſe: Je pre-  
serveray et garderay inuiolablement sans les transfere ny aliener,  
je defenderay et reprendray en tous estats et tous degrets, les op-  
pressions et toutes sortes de torts faiets en tous ingemens; je  
com-



commanderay et procureray que justice et equité soit garder à toutes creatures sans exception ; ainsi me soit misericordieux et a nous le Seignor et Pere de toute mercie et des mes souverains Seignoirs paix et Empire : Je m'estudiray d'extirper tous Here-  
tiques et ennemis du vray seruice de Dieu, apres estre conuaincus par la fidèle Eglise de Dieu, des dicts crimes. Toutes les choses dessus dicts j'affirme par mon Sermente sotennel,

*Après il mit sa main sur la Bible aveques inclination*

*de son Corpus, puis fût Chantée le Psaume 72.*

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The Names of the A B B I E S whose Abbots were  
of the House of Peeres.

1	<b>S</b> T. <i>Albans,</i>	— — —	Comit. <i>Hartford.</i>
2	St. <i>Mary Abington,</i>	— — —	Comit. <i>Berks.</i>
3	St. <i>Austin of Canterbury,</i>	— — —	Comit. <i>Cantij.</i>
4	St. <i>Martins of Battell,</i>	— — —	Comit. <i>Suffex.</i>
5	St. <i>Omrald of Bardeney,</i>	— — —	Comit. <i>Lincoln.</i>
6	St. <i>John of Colchester,</i>	— — —	Comit. <i>Essex.</i>
7	St. <i>Guthlacus of Crowland,</i>	— — —	Comit. <i>Lincoln.</i>
8	St. <i>Mary of Euesham,</i>	— — —	Comit. <i>Wigom.</i>
9	St. <i>Mary York,</i>	— — —	Comit. <i>Ebor.</i>
10	St. <i>Edmund's-Bury,</i>	— — —	Comit. <i>Suffolk.</i>
11	St. <i>Mary, Glastonbury,</i>	— — —	Comit. <i>Sommerfet.</i>
12	St. <i>Peter, Glocester,</i>	— — —	Comit. <i>Glocestershire.</i>
13	St. <i>Peter and Paul of Hicle,</i>	— — —	Comit. <i>Hampshire.</i>
14	St. <i>Bennet of Hulme,</i>	— — —	Comiti. <i>Norfolk.</i>
15	St. <i>Aldelmus, Malsbury,</i>	— — —	Comit. <i>Wilts.</i>
16	St. <i>Peterborcugh,</i>	— — —	Comit. <i>Northampton.</i>
17	St. <i>James, Reading,</i>	— — —	Comit. <i>Berks.</i>
18	St. <i>Mary and St. Bennet, Ramsey,</i>	— — —	Comit. <i>Huntingdon.</i>
19	St. <i>Peter and Paul, Shrewsbury,</i>	— — —	Comit. <i>Salop.</i>
			20 St.



- |    |                               |                    |
|----|-------------------------------|--------------------|
| 20 | St. Germans, Selby, ———       | Comit. Ebor.       |
| 21 | St. Mary, Tavestock, ———      | Comit. Devon.      |
| 22 | St. Mary, Thorney, ———        | Comit. Cambridge.  |
| 23 | St. Peter's, Westminster, ——— | Comit. Middlesex.  |
| 24 | St. Mary, Winchcomb, ———      | Comit. Gloucester. |

The Priour of Couentree was of the Lords House, St. Mary  
of Couentree.

Professour *S A U N D E R S O N*'s Lectures on  
S O U N D.

**S**OUND is an Undulation of the Air, which agitates the Tympanum of the Ear ; by which means a Motion is communicated to the Air contain'd in that Organ, which by exciting a<sup>n</sup> Vibration in the auditory Nerve, raises in the Mind an Idea of SOUND.

The Medium of SOUNDS is common Air, and not as some have imagined, a subtile Fluid : That this is true, may be learned from Experiments. If a Ball be put into a Receiver and continually shook, as the Air is exhausting, the SOUND continually decreases, and at last becomes scarce audible, and *vice versa*. In condensed Air, the Sound increases according as the Degrees of Condensation ; that this is consonant to Reason will appear by attending to the Nature of Motion, which is communicated to all Parts of a Consistent sooner than a Fluid Body. Suppose a Stick struck at one End, and Motion is immediately communicated to the other End ; but suppose the Stick reduced to a Fluid or Column of Water, the Motion would not be propagated to all its Parts so soon.

Sir *Isaac Newton*, calculated that SOUND ought to move 960 Feet in a Second, where the Air is serene and free from all heterogeneous Matter : But when thick and foggy, it ought to move 1142 Feet in a Second, the Air then having more solid Particles in it ; which Calculation, considering the Difficulty of the

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Thing,

Thing, agrees pretty well with the Experiments made by *Dereham*, *Massenus*, and others. Besides, were there no solid Particles in the Air, it could not be capable of Rarefaction, or Condensation, without which as we shall presently shew, no SOUND could be propagated, which we thus prove.

The Air's Elasticity or Springs depends upon a certain repellent Force, inherent in each of its Particles, whereby they never touch one another, but constantly endeavour to keep one another at as great a Distance as possible. Hence we see that the Force by which the Particles of Air fly from one another, encreases in the same ratio, as the Distance betwixt the Centers of these Particles decrease, *i. e.* that Force is inversely as their Distance. Now it is plain, that such Particles as the Cartesians compose the subtile Matter of, can't be endowed with such repellent Forces, because *ex Hypothesi*, there can be no Interstices in that Matter, without which there can be no Rarefaction or Condensation, since the one consists in the Enlargement of the Interstices between Particle and Particle; the other, namely Condensation, in diminishing and crowding several Particles into a less Space than usual: Hence we may see how solid Particles help the Propagation of SOUNDS.

In explaining the Propagation of SOUNDS, we must premise that every Body when struck, endeavours to dilate itself every way, which we prove from Experiments. Let an Anvil be stuck full of Peas on the Top and Sides, by a little Wax, as soon as it is struck with the Hammer, the Peas will fly off in all Dissections. Again, suppose a Sphere of Water thrown against a Wall, 'twill indeed endeavour to dilate itself, as the watry Sphere did, but the Particles of Matter cohering, *i. e.* attracting one another with a Force great enough to overcome the *ictus impingens*, will presently contract itself again, because the Shock was not great enough to remove the Parts but of each other's Sphere of Attraction; when the Cohesion of the Parts is not able to overcome the Shock imping'd upon it, the Body is said to be broken; when after the Shock a few of its Parts are driven from their Places the Body is said to be bruised.



In order to explain the Manner how SOUND is propagated, we must again have recourse to our Anvil. As the Anvil by dilating itself throws off the Peas, so it also throws off the Air in all Directions, and for some Time makes a Vacuum about it: But the Air driven from its usual Limits into a narrower Place, by the Restitution of its Spring, not only returns to its former State, but by the Motion its Particles have acquired, does as it were with a rebounding Force dilate itself again; after which second Dilatation it entirely rests in its former State, and the Air is compressed toward other Parts, which also dilating itself as before, compresses the Air round about that, and soon this Agitation of the Air is analogous to the Motion of a Wave on the Surface of the Water, but with this Difference, *viz.* as the Waves expand themselves circularly upon the Surface of the Water; the undulatory Motion of the Air is like that of a Sphere expanding itself into all Directions, and with this Addition, whereas the Waves of Water keep continually driving forwards, without ever returning to their former Position. On the contrary, fleeting Particles of Air in their going backward and forward, something resemble a vibrating Pendulum, and would entirely agree with the Action of it, if after two Vibrations, *i. e.* once going backward and forward, the Action of Gravity should cease as in the Air; after the going and returning of a Particle, the Action of Elasticity on that Particle ceases; each Contraction and Dilation of a SOUNDING Body is called a Vibration, from the Analogy it bears to the Swing of a Pendulum. The Impetus which such a Vibration in the Air makes is called Pulse. The Number of Pulses propagated is always the same with the Number of Vibrations of the tremulous Body, and are not any Means multiplied as they go from it. The Reason of which may be easily seen by attending to what has been said concerning the Origin of SOUNDS. When a Body gives but one Vibration, the SOUND is said to be Instantaneous. The SOUND arising from many Vibrations, is called a continued SOUND. It is probable no SOUND is instantaneous, but continued, though the latter Vibrations may be so small as not to propagate any sensible Pulses. Concerning these Vibrations we must further observe



that they must be performed with a Velocity greater than that which the Air flows in, to fill a Vacuum, otherwise no Condensation of the Air will follow: Hence, we see that any Thing moved to and fro, slowly in the Air, causes no Noise, because the Air is at full Liberty to succeed into all Parts of Space relinquish'd by that Body.

*THE Velocity with which SOUNDS are propagated.*

All SOUNDS, whether great or small, are propagated with the same Degree of Velocity; which may be proved by several Experiments. Let several Sorts of Pieces be discharged at a Distance, and by means of a good Pendulum Clock, the Sound of the smallest will be found to move with the same Velocity as the greatest. The same may be said of a Ring of Bells, whose Sounds are heard at a Distance, exactly in the same Order as they are rung; whereas, if the Sound of the great Bell moved faster than the little one, they would be heard in an inverted Order: We find also, that Echoes reflect a small SOUND, in the same Time they do a greater. What we have proved by Experiments, may in some Measure be conceiv'd consonant to Reason, by considering, that since in this Case there is no progressive Motion required, there is no Reason why the strongest Vibrations should perform their Pulses with the greater Velocity. Hence it will follow that the Motion of all SOUNDS is uniform, *i. e.* at least they move as fast; which is also confirmed by Experiments. If a Person hears a Gun let off, first at two Miles from him, then at one, in the latter Case the SOUND will move to him just twice as soon as in the former. To this some object, that if the Velocity of SOUNDS is as great at first as at last, they ought to move on *ad infinitum*. But 'tis answered, We must distinguish between the Velocity and the Momentum of SOUNDS, though a SOUND moves with the same Velocity at last as at first; yet it does not move with the same Momentum. For that Quantity of Motion which was at first communicated to a Globe of Air, of a very small Radius, is presently communicated to several Spheres of Air, whose Radii continually increase, till at last

it comes to be applied to a Quantity of Air, so great as not to be put out of its Place by it. This Diffusion of SOUND, from a sonorous Body is analogous to the Radiation of Light from its Centre. The Velocity of SOUNDS is to be determined by Experiments: Let a Gun be fired off in a Dark Night, from an Eminence, and let a Person at any determinate Distance, observe how long the Flash precedes the Sound. It may also be done by the Motion of Echoes, by observing how long the *Repetition* is heard after the SOUND, half that Time will be the Velocity with which the SOUND moved to the reflecting Body. From several Experiments of this kind it appears that the Motion, *i. e.* the mean Motion of SOUND in our Latitude is 1100 of Feet in a Second of Time. In high Winds SOUNDS moving with the same Velocity, are heard considerably louder than at other Times; whence some think that the Winds contribute much to their Velocities; to their Momenta indeed they do contribute something, but to their Velocity little, they increase the Momentums of SOUNDS by causing the Contractions and Dilatations to be performed with greater Force. But we have proved that the Momentums of SOUNDS have no Effect upon the Velocity's, so as to increase or diminish it. The Reason why SOUNDS are heard sometimes louder, sometimes fainter in windy Weather, is owing to the floating Condition the Air is in at that Time, it being in some Places very dense, in others very rare: Dense, where the Wind blows, and consequently rare in all other Places. Where the Air is densest, there the SOUND moves quickest, as above, ( $2^{\circ}$ ) and 'tis found by Experiments, that SOUNDS are carried faster, though it be a little in windy Weather; and that SOUNDS are carried also with greater Velocity, though very little *secundo vento*, or with the Wind then for it; and that the Velocity of SOUNDS is a little diminished *adverso vento*, or the Wind being against it, therefore SOUNDS are not carried *secundo vento*, but strongest and consequently farther; but here we must observe, that when we say Winds have no Effect upon the Motion of SOUNDS, so as either to accelerate or retard them, we mean, that Winds do

not

not cause the Contractions or Dilatations of the Medium to be performed quicker than at other Times, only as they occasion the Density, and consequently the Elasticity of the Air to be increased. 'Tis true indeed, when Winds stand fair, SOUND arrives (as *Derham* observes) sooner to any particular Place, and later when contrary. But this is not occasioned by any Contractions or Dilatations of the Air being performed quicker *secundo vento*, and slower *in adverso*; but by the contracted and dilated Mediums being moved towards you in the former Case, and from you in the latter. From what we have said concerning the Origin and direct Propagation of SOUNDS it will not be difficult to explain,

*The Augmentation and Reflexion of SOUNDS.*

WHEN a Pulse of Air meets with any Impediment, the Reaction of that Impediment forces it back again; for that Part of the Air which was most contracted, not having room to dilate itself forwards, will consequently dilate itself backwards. And after that all the Contractions and Dilations must be performed backward as they were forward. Such a Reflexion of SOUND is called an Echo.

If one stand near the reflecting Body, and the SOUND be not far off, though an Echo be produced, yet it can't be heard, because the direct and reflex SOUND enters the Ear almost at the same time, but then the SOUND appears to be stronger and lasts longer, especially when the Reflexion is made from diverse Bodies at once, as from Arches and vaulted Roofs. And probably it may be deduced, why concave Bodies are, *ceteris paribus*, fittest to produce great and clear SOUND, such as Bells, &c. for in such Bodies SOUND is reflected very swiftly and very often from Side to Side, and from one part of the Cavity to the other, and the Bell hanging at liberty, this produces great Tremblings and Shakings of the whole Body which occasions the SOUND to continue till they cease and are quiet. The Phænomenon



phenomenon of the Speaking-Trumpet does not arise from any Augmentation of the Sound, but is occasioned by the Sides of the Tube, being so contrived as to hinder the spreading of the SOUND as much as may be. For, as we have said, the reason of Sound's growing weak is because it dilates itself into all manner of Directions. We shall conclude our Treatise of Aconsticks with the several Modifications of SOUND explain'd.

A Tone or Musical Note is caused when the sounding Body vibrates uniformly; a Noise or common SOUND is occasioned when some Parts of the Body vibrates faster than others: A Bell itself, were it not of an uniform Thickness, would not sound musically but confusedly; grave and dense Sounds differ only in their Vibrations; when the sonorous Body vibrates quick, it gives an acute Sound; when slow, a grave or dull one. Thus two Strings of equal length but different Tensions will give different Sounds, the tightest founding an acute, the slackest a grewe.

Sympathy of Musick is that Power which one Body has when struck, of making another Body (that is at union to it) found. Two Bodies are said to be at union when they perform their Vibrations at the same time, *i. e.* have one and the same Tone. Thus if the third or fourth String of a Violin which is in the Hand be struck, they will make a third or fourth String of a Violin which lies upon the Table found, if they are at union with one another, which we account for by this Lemma. If you time your Pull to the String of a Bell, you may easily raise it to any height, but if you don't, you'll take away as much Motion at one Pull as you gave it another. You'll cause the other to *found*, because the Vibrations of the first String don't only begin, but continue the Vibration of the other String till it be heard.

The Sympathy of SOUNDS gives Rise to a very odd Phenomenon, *viz.* the Breaking of a Glass by an intense Sound that is at Union to it: For the Vibrations of the Air affecting the Glass now, as before they did the Strings of the Violin upon the

the Table. If a Person has a good Voice and Judgment to suit his Voice to the Note of the Glass, he may, by swelling the Sound, crack it; the Vibrations of the Air which he causes being strong enough not only to make the Glass vibrate, but also to shake the Parts of the Sphere of each other's Attraction; or in other words, to break it; as the Bell is overthrown by pulling long. If the Vibrations of two Bodies be as one to two, this Consonance is called Octave or Diaphazon: If as two to three, *i. e.* if the second Vibration of one Body always agrees with the third of another, this Consonance is called a fifth or Diapente. Vibrations which are as three to four give a Consonance which is called a fourth or Diatessoron. Distonus is when the Returns of Air are as four to five. Sequiclitonus, when the fifth Vibration agrees with the sixth of another.



The following Letters printed in the *Weekly Miscellany*, in the Year 1738, I have been desired to publish in this Collection.

*Quot Homines tot Sententiæ.*

Mr. Hooker,

**T**H O' the different Tastes and Opinions of Men, have been so long observable, as to establish the Proverb which I have chosen for my Motto ; yet I can never perceive it without Surprise and Admiration. 'Tis from this Opposition of Temper and Genius, that the Press swarms with such Variety of Compositions, and that the Town is crowded with its several kinds of Diversions. 'Tis what racks the Brains of Authors for Subjects, as it does our *Spital-Fields* Weavers for Variety of Patterns : There is not a Mercer nor Shopkeeper, who does not reduce this Notion of the World to Experiment ; the tawdry Silk which the Duchesse would reject with Disdain, is produc'd to her Chambermaid, as the most genteel thing in Town, and her gew-gaw Fancy is immediately taken with the party-colour'd Piece of Finery. I have neither Time nor Inclination to open those various Scenes which expose Men in the Indulgence of their particular Pleasures ; nor have I any great Concern about the Matter, unless when I see Variety of Opinions operate so strongly in the Affairs of Religion ; with regard to which I could wish Men more regular and uniform, and that they were all of one Mind, where Error and Dissentions may be so fatal and dangerous : This only excepted, I must confess myself in the whimsical Mode of the World, and that I am peculiar in several of my Notions and Opinions. I shall not tell you what Party I espouse, nor whether the *Craftsman* or *Gazetteer* be my Oracle in Politics. This only I beg leave to tell you, that I very often dislike both. I am an Enemy as well to

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Flattery,



Flattery, as Insult ; and am often as sick with dull luscious Panegyric, as at other Times offended with Scurrility and Abuse. You'll not be able to find out whether I am Whig or Tory by this Account ; nor do I desire you should, since I do not know what side of the Question you take, and would willingly procure your Esteem, which I should be afraid of losing if our Opinions should clash. I have known many Instances of this kind in the Places where I have lived. Every Thing in a Neighbour has been approved but a Man's Politics ; but, as soon as he has made any Discovery of himself in that Particular, it has eclips'd every good Quality, and his Name has been as odious as a *Christian's* in *Turkey* : In short, I shall leave you in the dark as to that Point, and only proceed to give you a Sample of my Taste, with regard to the Pleasures and Diversions of the Town ; and here you'll think me quite alone in my Fancy, when I tell you, that tho' I am a Man of Fortune, appear handsomely dress'd, with a good Equipage, well known and respected in Life, have no Aversion to Company and Pleasure, have an Ear to Music, nor am an Enemy to Balls and Assemblies where the Company is good, and the Conversation decent ; yet my Taste of Pleasures is on the City-side of Temple-Bar, and of all the Amusements in *London*, the Sessions-House in the *Old-Bailly* I have for some Time adopted, where my Chariot is as well known as a Physician's at *Child's*. 'Tis there I have a Specimen of the *Englishman's* Liberty ; how he stands and falls by the Laws of his Country ; and, however Poor and Friendless, has an honest and fair Trial : It is not what a Man says, but what he can prove, that is of Consequence to the Prisoner, and as Guilt after all its Impudence, Shifts and Disguises, is forced to hang down its Head upon Conviction and Condemnation : So I am delighted with the Joy sparkling in the Face of clear'd Innocence, to see it triumphing over Suspicion or malicious Prosecution. I own it Melancholy and Affecting to see those Degradations of Human Nature, which every Month presents to my View ; to see a Fellow-Creature, and much more a Fellow-Christian, fetter'd and arraign'd for injuring the Society he is a Mem-

Member of, and owes his best Services to. I am likewise concern'd to see little Villains only in Chains and Hand-Cuffs, whilst great Ones of all Denominations have sometimes enjoy'd the World in State. If all Villainy wore this Mark of Infamy ; if every Hand of Corruption was held up at the Bar ; and all the Iniquities of *One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty Eight*, were to clink in such Pomp before me, I shou'd be better entertain'd ; but for want of that I please myself with this Justice done to the Injur'd. As I would willingly have my Actions appear well to Mankind, so I must tell you I am furnished with such Reflexions from this seemingly odd and trifling Amusement as will secure the Place which I hope to have in Mr. *Hooker's* Esteem, and justify me in my Choice of Diversions. When I come from these Trials, I sometimes reflect on another great Bar, where no Power nor Fortune will screen us ; where I myself am to be try'd, and where, as a Son of Nature, I find myself at a Loss to plead Innocence. From viewing a puisne Judge of Earth in this Place, my Mind is struck and aw'd with the tremendous Idea of the great Judge of all Men in another. In every Malefactor I have seen brought here, the deform'd Picture of myself, as an Offender against some of the Divine Laws, is before me. In this Court of Justice I perceive smooth Oratory, and flourishes of Rhetoric ; I perceive Council loudly haranguing, and Magnifying or Alleviating a Crime according to their Instructions and Fees. I can see the false Glosses, which an hired Solicitor has put upon the Cause of his Client : But at the solemn Tribunal, to which this Bar turns my Thoughts, I can see only Truth prevailing and countenanc'd. In that Court, though the Judge wants no Information, as in this below ; yet for the Public Manifestation of his own Justice, the Confusion of Guilt, and the Honour of Virtue, Witnesses will appear for and against the Parties. Methinks I see unrelieved Poverty and Distress, bearing Testimony of Uncharitableness and Inhumanity ; Oppression of abused Power ; and the innocent injur'd Ward of its Trustee's Fraud and Injustice. Methinks I see the Luxuries and Effeminacies of a once glorious warlike State,

now shrunk into Softness, and Inactivity, rising in Judgment against it. Methinks I see whole injur'd Nations crowding to testify the wicked Politics that have destroyed them. In this Court below, I sometimes perceive an honourable Acquittal ; and there a Parallel of Circumstance meets my Imagination. Methinks I see Innocence facing and getting the better of false Accusation, and whom an Ill-natur'd World has censured and condemned, that most righteous and impartial Court releases with Honour. As at this Bar I have seen an innocent Prisoner, calling creditable Vouchers to his Reputation, so at the other, methinks, I see Virtue summoning all her Graces as Evidences for her ; Charity with her bright Retinue of kind human Offices, Temperance and Chastity with their pure Affections, Honour and Integrity with their steady and unbiass'd Practices, Piety and Devotion in their graceful and becoming Habits, appearing to vouch for, and bring off the *Christian*. I hope, Sir, you have by this Time a tolerable Opinion of my Taste ; and will give me leave to go there, if I return so rationally entertain'd ; if it produces so much Improvement and proper Contemplation. I can with Pleasure assure you my Hands were never given to Picking and Stealing, and I was always tolerably honest ; but the frequent Arraignments I have seen here, increase my Contempt and Abhorrence of all Trick and cunning Knavery ; and I am much improved in my Notions of the Respect due to Men of Probity and Merit. In short, Sir, what so much entertains me by Day, pursues my Imagination by Night, and I am in my Dream by turns Judge, Evidence and Prisoner. I am sometimes so shock'd upon my imaginary Bench for fear I should have condemned Innocence, that in the following Day's Conversation I am the most tender and reserv'd in giving my Judgment and Opinion. The Solemnity of the Oath given me as an imaginary Witness at a Trial makes me the most Cautious and Diffident in all my Assertions. What is most dreadful to us in our waking Moments, is apt to rise up to View, with double Terror, when asleep : To the Horror of such Crimes it is owing that I am sometimes a Shoplifter in my Dream ;



Dream ; which has such an Effect upon me, that I am not easy 'till all my Tradesmen are discharged ; and fancy that whilst their Goods are unpaid for in my Possession, I am but little inferior to the Character I assumed in my Sleep. I had the other Night a most remarkable Vision, which if you would not think it too abrupt, and too immediate a Transition, from the Grave to the Cheerful, I would take the Liberty of troubling you with. I was last Night in my Journey to the old Place, and saw all the fettered Regiment marching before me from Newgate to this monthly Review. In this ghastly Group of Figures, I saw a very arch-looking Fellow, whose ragged Habit, and yet smart Appearance drew mine and every Body's Eyes upon him : Most of the other Prisoners had some pitying Acquaintance near them, who seemed to have a Fellow-feeling of their Misfortunes ; but this young Fellow (as he has since told me) having lost all his Friends, was not comforted with a single Condolance. Upon his nearer advance to me I found him much scarify'd, and his Head appear'd to have been broken in many Places. Every one was inquisitive about this Droll of Misfortune, but could get no Account of him from the sturdy Gentleman-Usher's, 'till having spoke to one of them in a proper Manner ; I understood it was a young Fellow call'd *Wit*, loaded with Accusations, and now going to his Trial with these Brethren in Iniquity ; expecting something remarkable, I hasten'd to the Bench, when this Malefactor was soon call'd, and Mr. Serjeant *Profund*, with great Solemnity open'd his Indictment. Finding myself gone to the usual Length of one of your Letters, I must therefore defer, a Post or two, Mr. Serjeant's Arguments, and Poor *Wit*'s Defence : There are many Things in this imaginary Trial, which may furnish several Persons with useful Hints. However, at all Events, in making this the Subject of another Letter, I shall have one Opportunity more of shewing with what Sincerity

*I am*

*Your Friend, to assist you,*

H

PHILANTHROPOS.

S I R,

I AM one of those unhappy Fellows, whose Progress in Study was stopp'd by the Death of my Father. In the second, or third Year of my standing at College, he opportunely (as I then thought) went into the other World, which has made me a good for nothing Saunterer in this. In short, Mr. *Hooker*, I am quite vapour'd with Idleness; and were it not for that Amusement of *Coffee-Houses*, I shou'd long before this have been under Dr. *Monro's* Management. I would not have you think me a Man of no Religion, for tho' I should have had more if I had taken care to study more, yet the little Education my Father gave me, whilst he liv'd, has given me some Sense of my Duty; and, I thank God, I am without those loose Notions and Practices which in my frequent Conversation with our *Coffee-House Infidels*, I find to be the Effect of Ignorance and Illiterature. But to go on——You may constantly see me at the most frequented Assemblies of Politicians and News-Mongers, waiting at the Door for the Entrance of a Paper, with as much Impatience, as a Bridegroom on his Wedding-Day for the Canonical Hour, as Part of my Business for the Day, I call'd for the *Miscellany*, and to my great Surprise found you in the Hands of a young Gentleman, who, I imagin'd, would have been asham'd of your Company. But when I saw such Strokes of Humour, and so happy an Invention in the instructive and entertaining Letter from *Agricola*, I should have wonder'd much more if its Credit had not excited his Curiosity to look into it, and its Ingenuity had not obliged him to read it through.

I was extremely entertain'd with this, as I was with your former Letter; and have carried your *Athenian Couple*, your curious Brace of *Antiques*, to every Family of my Acquaintance. Having no Business of my own, I am naturally inquisitive about other People's, and am as well-informed of the Matrimonial State of their Affairs, from the Reception of this Paper, as if I had see'd my Lady's Woman, or consulted a disgusted Servant.

Servant. One Lady whose red Eyes, tho' with a chearful Behaviour, has for some Time convinced me that all is not well at Home, seem'd very well pleas'd with the Performance, but thought something wanting as to the *Husband's* Conduct, and spoke her own Distress in the following Remarks. " It is a Pity, Sir, the Lady made no Reply, nor offer'd some Things for *his* Consideration. She might have urg'd the Necessity of his being the same kind complaisant Man *after*, as *before* Marriage, and not letting the too suppliant *Lover* soon change into the morose, domineering *Husband*. How deplorable is the *Wife's* State, whose House is so haunted with a Husband's evil Spirit, that all her Friends and Acquaintance are afraid of approaching it when he is at home. He takes care, indeed, of the main Chance, but can't bear a Butcher's Bill, or any necessary Expence, without putting himself out of Humour, and making every one unhappy about him. I wonder the Lady did not read him some Lecture of Behaviour, touching that Civility and Good-manners, which I think a Woman is nevertheless intitled to, because she is a *Wife*, but rather more, since she has done every thing to oblige him, made herself the Partner of his Cares and Inconveniencies, and put so much Confidence in him, as to give him the Guardianship of her Person and Fortune." You may see, Mr. *Hooker*, where this Lady's Shoe pinches, and what a growling Piece of Humanity is fallen to her Share. Another Lady who has not been thus treated, in whom the Coquet still reigns with all its Pertnesses and Levities, who is match'd to the other Extreme, to a fond careless Husband, who will let her run into Bankruptcy, with her Follies and Extravagance, who consults the Fashions more than his Circumstances, and whose Pleasures and Wardrobe bear no Proportion to his Fortune; She, Sir, took my Present in high Dudgeon, ask'd me how long I had commenc'd Member of the Club of *Antiquarians*, and where I had rais'd this *Athenian* Ghost for her Amusement? As soon as the Alarm had run itself down, I took the Liberty of telling her, that, tho' it was Old Stile, it was.



was to her a very new Mode of Conduct ; such as I believe had not been seen or worn by her Ladyship ; and that I thought if she would put it on, it would better become her than any Habit I ever saw her wear. I was afraid to stay for the Reply, and went to my Chamber, to spend the Evening in serious Reflexions upon the Subject of that Paper. I admired this beauteous Piece of Submission, drawn in her native Modesty, and genuine Simplicity. It was an additional Beauty in the Copier, to keep so close to his Original. Had he given us his usual Ornament and Embellishment of Dress, tho' the Colouring would have been more fashionable, the Drawing could not have been juster, nor the Picture more agreeable. Lady *Townly's* Vices are not the less contemptible for appearing dress'd with modern Exactness, and I prefer this *Athenian Couple* in their antient Dialect, and just Notions, to any unhappy Pair of *Modern Gentry*, who appear Sick of each other before the Moon, that Emblem of their Fickleness and Inconstancy, has gone through her Monthly Changes ; who loll in a Chariot together at a proper Distance, and are uneasy till the Visit is over, which Decency, not Affection, has prevail'd upon them to make together. I have often lamented the unhappy Case of many young Ladies, who are taken only with the carved Image and Figure of a Man, looking at the Tie of his Sword Knot, more than the Turn of his Temper, and taking his Character from the bribed *Abigail*, or his Taylor, or Milliner. You'll think me very Whimsical, in comparing a new dress'd Bride, with all her Friends about her, to a new built outward-bound Vessel receiving her Owners in the River ; and with Sails spreading, Colours flying, and Music playing, setting out on an Ocean of Rocks and Quicksands. I have grieved to see the last Day of a single Life, the only one of real Happiness ; and much Beauty and Treasure given for a short Month of Pomp and Pageantry. I pass'd this Summer in a public Place, where many Instances of such Misfortune pass'd daily in Review. I mean, Ladies wedded to a *Title*, without any other good Quality to recommend the Husband. One, whom I remember

to have triumph'd in the City; and to have been the Toast and Admiration of wealthy Merchants and Traders, appeared in this Place a moving Skeleton, the pale Picture of her Husband's Vices and Debaucheries; she is *Quality* indeed, and is called *my Lady*; poor Purchase! short-liv'd Amusement! which palls upon Use; and when *your Ladyship* has been nauseously repeated, by Sycophants and Servants, for a little while, it is made contemptible by Familiarity, and like a rich Brocade grows common and distasteful by constant Wearing. The Thousands gain'd by her Father's Care and Industry have found their Way from his Counter to the Hazard-Table, and have served only to pamper *Gamesters* and *Sharpers*; those *Lac'd-out Plunderers*, who only change the Terms, not the Nature of the Crime; who, besides that upon their Company, commit another Robbery upon *Virtue*, and demand their Impositions under the false Appellation of *Debts of Honour*. Upon such as these and vile Prostitutes (whose Distempers in a *good Humour* have been *civilly* convey'd to her) her whole Fortune is consum'd, and nothing left of her Father's, but Taunts and Revilings on his Trade and Occupation. As for her *Quality*, it only serves to bring her Misery more within Notice, and to point her out as a Beggar of Distinction. I wish my Friend, Merchant *Wronghead*, and Miss *Fanny's* Mamma, would take this Hint, and not think Grandeur the only Foundation of a Child's Happiness, but look out for a Man of *Religion* and *Virtue*, and esteem the good Qualities of his Mind the most valuable Rent-Roll, beyond what any Parchments or Heraldry can give him. As Man is a sociable Creature, not made for Solitude but Conversation, *Marriage* is a noble Institution, and a little useful Society, from whence many Advantages arise. The Sorrows of Life are lessen'd by this Division, and the Comforts of it increased by Communication. *Marriage* is, or should be, the most perfect State of *Friendship*. Mutual Interest produces mutual Assistance. 'Tis owing to this Institution, that Families have been rais'd and formed: Where the most *constant Cohabitation* wants this *divine License*, the innocent Issue

is loaded with Reproach. *All* Parentage and Proximity proceed from hence, and in a happy Marriage, where both Parties behave well in their respective Stations, the Honey-Moon increases to Years of Bliss. Long Possession rivets the Affection; and nothing but parting can be a material Affliction. No Age nor Infirmary can unhinge a matrimonial Esteem. The many good Qualities, Services, and obliging Usage of each other, are so lodged in the Memory, as to make Life a continual Scene of Courtship, and the Husband to carry always the Lover about him. This brings to my Mind a favourite *Ballad*, thought worthy of a Translation, by the best *Latin* Poet of the Age.

*Old Darby with Joan by his Side,  
You have often regarded with Wonder ;  
He's Dropsical, she is Sore-ey'd,  
Yet they're always uneasy asunder.  
Together they totter about,  
Or sit in the Sun at the Door ;  
And at Night when Old Darby's Pot's out,  
His Joan will not smoke a Whiff more.*

I wish the Imagination of its Author had been a little purer, and that he had laid the main Strefs of this old Couple's Affection, upon their former Virtue and good Behaviour, which alone could make it so real and lasting. When I see Quarrels and Disagreements in that State, I am concerned for the Desolation which the divided House will certainly come into. How moving is the Sight of an innocent Offspring in such a Family of Discord, with a Tendernefs of Nature pleading for both, not knowing which Side to take, and ty'd up by Duty and filial Affection, from acting against either. What Instruction can Children receive in such Confusion? And how pernicious to Posterity such evil Example? It is Matter of the greatest Surprise,



prise, that a Man, who aims at Character and Reputation, that in the Business and Affairs of Life, will keep his Word to preserve his Credit, should forfeit all Honour and Integrity at Home, and have no regard to the solemn Engagements made to a Wife. I should judge in such a Case, like the well distinguishing Emperor, who would not employ nor depend upon any Man's Oath or Fidelity to him, who had forfeited his solemn Engagements to his God. The *Good Man* was the only *Great Man* of that Court. It was another well judg'd Action of a Prince I have read of, who took an Officer's Commission from him, questioning his Courage upon an Information that he *beat his Wife*. The Paw of the *Lyon* or *Bear*, which deals Slaughter to every one else, is a nursing Arm to the Female. But such rough Discipline is chiefly confin'd to the Vulgar and underbred Part of Mankind. *Porters* and *Carmen* are chiefly distinguish'd for such *Domestic Heroism*. The *Beau Monde* content themselves with silent Hatred and Indifference. Strangeness and Ceremony, separate Beds and Apartments, kept Mistresses, &c. are the *genteel* Exercises of their Aversion. In short, no Man can be a *fine Gentleman*, who is not a Man of *Honour*, and no Man can be a Man of Honour that makes a *bad Husband*. The Perfumer may perform his Part well; the Valet may powder and dress him with Exactness; he may be a Judge of every Air of *Handel's*, and be a Credit to his Dancing Master in every Minuet; he may have an entertaining Wit, and sprightly Conversation; but if the Harp is always hung up at the Door, and he carries Home none of that Pleasantry and Good-Humour, which makes him agreeable Abroad; whatever Talents of Ingenuity he may be possessed of, however dignify'd by Birth, or honour'd by Station, he moves the Contempt of all wise and good Men, and has no Claim to the good Opinion, which every where but in his own House he strives to establish.

S I R,

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Your's, &amp;c.

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Ut

*Ut Alimenta Sanis corporibus Agricultura, sic Sanitatem  
Ægris Medicina promittit.* CELSUS.

S I R,

**A**S I have constantly one of the Weekly Bills of Mortality left at my House, it often gives me a pleasing Reflexion upon the Goodness of Providence, in affording us by the Study of Physic an immediate Help, in any of those Diseases which suddenly assault us in this State of Infirmary, and without which, in all probability, the melancholy Account thus distributed would be much increased. Of all the Misfortunes incident to human Nature, Sicknefs stands in the foremost Rank, by reason whereof the Pulse, those *Wheels of Life*, move heavily, till the Matter whereof we are composed gradually *stiffens* into its original Sluggishness and Inactivity. When this Misfortune seizes us, it puts a stop to all our Pursuits, deprives Families of their Support and Comfort, and is a Calamity so common and fatal, that had not the SCIENCE before-mentioned been brought to the Perfection it happily is, the mournful Sight of Widows and Orphans would oftner move and affect us; and this gay Landskip of a World be so darkly shaded with their *sable Appearances*, as to render the Piece a most melancholly Object.

Sir *William Temple* seems to point out the national, as well as private Benefit of Physic, in one of his ingenious Essays, when he finely remarks, 'That Accidents of Health grow to be Accidents of State, and public Constitutions come to depend in a great Measure upon those of particular Men. Not only Humour and Invention, but Judgment and Resolution change and languish with the ill Constitution of Body, and Kingdoms, and States as well as private Families may fall into Distempers and Weaknesses, by the Diseases and Decays of those that manage and support them.' Sicknefs and Infirmary were annex'd to *Sin*, and if Man had preserved his State of Innocence,

nocence, he had preserved his State of Health. From his *Fall* this Evil arose, and acute Pains and Diseases then came to be part of this Earth's galling Productions, its *Thorns* and *Thistles*. But that we might not be remediless in this natural Calamity, Mercy exerted itself with the Attribute of Justice, and every Field was made a sort of Dispensary. The Divine Preserver of Men has been pleased to infuse a healing and medicinal Virtue into many Herbs and Plants, and to impart to his Creatures a Knowledge of their particular Qualities, so as to make them become his glorious Instruments to help their sick and infirm Brethren, by a diligent Inquisition and Scrutiny into the Nature and Operations, and a Skill to appropriate and accommodate them to their proper and singular Uses. The Honour paid to Physicians is of an early Date. *Give Place* (says the Son of *Syrach*) *to the Physician, for the Lord hath created him, i. e.* qualify'd him for this useful Office. The Romans dedicated a Temple to *Æsculapius*, and the PHYSICIAN whose Prescriptions were thought subservient to *Augustus's* Recovery, had a Statue of Brass. In short the Knowledge of *Physic* stands very high amongst human Blessings; and not to pay a proper Deference and Regard to a Set of Gentlemen, whose Profession and Learning make them so useful, and so ornamental to Society, would be unjust and undistinguishing. I shall be grossly misunderstood therefore, if any thing in this Letter should be construed reflective upon the Faculty in general, upon as *Polite* a Body of *Scholars* as our Nation can boast of; who are so immediately serviceable in a sick Chamber, and improving and entertaining in all Conversation which they compose a Part of.

But as it is a great Mark of good Sense to be impartial, and as no Man is so fond of the *Productions* of his own *Garden*, as not willingly to part with the *Weeds*, so I question not but they would be as ready to *give up*, as I am to *expose*, any ill or improper Behaviour, injurious to the *Faculty*, and more detrimental than may be apprehended to its Interest.

No Profession can suffer by a just Reflexion on an unworthy Professor, and I am inclined to think, every impartial Man will allow



allow him worthy of Censure, who reflects upon that Divine Providence, which must co-operate with his Pre-ordination, by whose Ill-nature and private Advice, *another Body* of *Scholars* and *Gentlemen* are unjustly render'd odious and contemptible.

As Man is compos'd of a *Body* and *Mind*, so the *latter*, like the *former*, has its Maladies and Imbecilities, and some of such a Nature as are not properly within the Province of the *Bodily Physician*, and which require the Assistance of *those* who have directed their Studies *another Way*, and whose *Visits*, instead of being *dispiriting* and *unnecessary*, have been proved of the greatest Service in their Pains and Diseases ; and especially in their Perturbations at the Approaches of Death.

In a View of that *Eternity* which the *Sick Person* imagines himself on the Brink of, there are Anxieties beyond the Power of *Physic* to remove ; in which Case some Help is unquestionably requisite. The *Soul*, like the *Body* in Anguish, stands in need of Advice and Assistance, and there is a *Gospel* as there are *Cordials* dispens'd for the Service of the *one* as of the *other*. The *Clergyman* therefore, whose Education must give him some Judgment in those Debates, and is early in his Advice to his Friends and Parishioners cannot be prejudicial, since Assistance in one Case leads to Recovery in the other.

The prudent Visit of a *Divine* may in some Terrors and Apprehensions of Mind be serviceable, nay instrumental to the better Operation of his own Medicines, and jointly tend to the Benefit of the Patient ; why, any Physician then should represent him as *unnecessary* and *impertinent*, *troublesome* and *dispiriting*, I can only lay at the Door of *Infidelity*, which I should be sorry to think of, much more to charge that learned Body with. If there is the least Ground for that proverbial Saying of, *Where there are three Physicians there are two Atheists*, it must have taken rise from the loose Principles and Conversations of some *very Children* of *Paracelsus*, some *weak Novices* in the *Science* ; it must be understood only of such who are not *Masters* of their Art, who are ignorant of the Nature and Causes of Things, from which Dizziness, instead of Clearness of Head, some few may have

have fallen into the Gulph of *Atheism*, and from *such* only, such an unhappy *few*, the Clergy must have met with the Treatment I am complaining of.

From a Knowledge of Nature, we are led to a Knowledge of God, and the more we know of Man's Frame and Constitution, the more we must be convinc'd of the Wisdom and good Providence of his Creator. No Man has a more effectual Antidote against the Poison of *Infidels* than a good *Physician*, and *Galen*, with several others, have enlarged much to this Purpose from the Make and Parts of Man's Body, wherein there must be allowed the sweetest Harmony in the several Executions of their Offices, without any Intrenchment or Encroachment upon one another, all observing the greatest Order and Decorum: Can his *Visit* be then shocking or improper, who dictates a Trust and Confidence in such a Creator? And implores his Blessing on the *Remedies* which are given them, without which they will be unavailing; for tho' *Medicine* is the Means ordered by Providence, tho' the salutary Herb grows for such Service of Man, and we are not to neglect the use thereof, yet the Blessing of God must accompany, or a Physician's Prescription is only a *Scrap* of *Learning* signifying nothing.

By a judicious Employment of his great Talent, the Physician, under God, may return a Patient to his Family and Station in Life; and by a *faithful Discharge* of the *Minister's Office*, he may be rendered still more useful in his Station; for as if, in the *lofty Expression of Scripture*, the *Sickness* had been unto *Death*, he had been enabled and strengthen'd to *depart in Peace*; so by being made *fitter* to die, he is rendered *fitter* to live, and is *recovered* by the *one* to a Sense of Religion and Virtue, as by the *other* to a State of Soundness and Vigour. 'Tis true, that as there may be ignorant *Physicians*, who apply *Blisters* unseasonably, and torment *Patients* when the Case don't require it; so there may be *imprudent Clergymen*, there may be some wild Enthusiasts, *Methodists* I think they are call'd, to *terrify* and *dispirit*, to fill the Head with *Nonsense* and *Absurdity*; but will this

this be any Reason to be general in the Accusation, and is the *Visit* of a *prudent Minister* of no Use, because there may be an Abuse of his Office.

Notwithstanding the Sneers and Reflexions, the *pretty Coffee-House Harangues*, of those few who talk themselves out of Reputation, and the Employment of serious Families; there is not a more useful Member of Society than a good *Parish Minister*, and nothing more tends to the finishing that *Character* than a due *Visitation* of the *Sick*, as well in the meanest Cottage, as most magnificent Mansion. Can he dispirit, who upon a Review of an ill-spent Life points out the Means of Forgiveness and Acceptance with God, and will endeavour to give that Quiet to the Mind, which will raise the Spirits, and go a great Way towards raising the *Patient*? Is this at all improper? Or can those who alienate Men's Affections to the Clergy, by thus rendering their Persons and Functions despicable; can they plead any Thing in Favour of such *ungentleman-like*, as well as *unchristian-like* Proceeding?

It can be no View of Interest that leads to any Complaint of this Treatment, since no *Fee* is due, ever demandable, or taken by Clergymen of Reputation; nay, were they not to visit, it would promote their Ease and lessen the Duty of large Parishes: But I hope they will be always ready to perform, and be accepted in this important Part of their Office, nor should any be denied or dissuaded from the Comfort of Prayer, and spiritual Instructions.

The Family of a sick Man for their own Sakes are careful that, tho' he may be *dispirited*, he should be told the Necessity of settling his *Temporal Affairs*. The Lawyer who brings the *discouraging* Instrument of a Man's last Will and Testament, is readily admitted; and why must a Bill of Exclusion pass only against a *Clergyman*, whose *prudent Visit* may do much Good, can do no Hurt, and whose Business tends to the Settlement of Concerns the most material and important? Who cannot dispirit a sick Man, because in the Course of his Duty he must acquaint



acquaint him with the Power and Mercy of Him that *can kill and make him alive, that wounds and can heal.*

I shall only intrude upon your Patience further, whilst I remark, that as the *Clergy* are no Patrons of *Quackery* of any *Kind*, and for the Good of Mankind contribute all in their Power to the Credit of a *regular Physician*, it would be to the general Detriment, and ungenerous and ungrateful, in any one, to prejudice his Patients against the *Parish Minister*. It would speak, if not a thorough Infidelity, that Slight and Disregard of religious Offices which will make him, how ingenious and witty soever, dis-esteemed by the sober Part of the World. A religious Man, who believes in the divine Power and Providence, will be afraid of *such a one's Prescription*, and his ill-timed Wit and Ridicule of Things Sacred may keep him, as I have before hinted, out of *Business* and *Equipage*.

I am,

Sir,

Your's, &c.

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*A Letter wrote in 1670, to a Gentleman of considerable Note and Learning, running into the Folly of that Age, called searching after the Philosopher's Stone.*

S I R,

I Greatly honour your Design, in applying yourself closely to Philosophy, a Science so necessary in Human Life, and requisite to form a great Man; but I cannot help condemning the Opinion you have entertained, that it will enable you to find what I cannot help laughing at the Thought of, the *Philosopher's Stone*; how is it possible that Learning, which Wisdom

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dictates

dictates the Pursuit of, should become the Slave of a fond Imagination? or how can that which hath something real for its Object, follow a Shadow and be contented to feed upon Fiction? Some Enemies of Learning have set up this Phantom, to make Philosophy ridiculous; if it has any good Tendency, 'tis to make Avarice more ridiculous, in tempting the Miser to be a Spendthrift, and throw away his Fortune. Prodigality and Extravagance never found out such a Vanity, after an *Ignis Fatuus* to sling away Money upon, and nothing but Distraction and Amazement at our own Folly can be the Consequence of this sottish Philosophy. Believe me, my dear Friend, there is no Way to *make Gold*, but by *preserving* our *Silver*, and Prudence and Oeconomy are the only true *Philosopher's Stones* to raise Riches. If you had not imparted to me your Scheme, I should not have taken the Liberty of giving you my Advice, which is earnestly to dissuade you from running into such Madness and Folly, which must *impoverish*, but cannot *enrich* you, whereby you will forfeit all that Title to a Man of Sense, which you have so justly acquired, and be ranked among the Number of those Fools, who throw down the Houses which their Ancestors have built for them, to build Castles in the Air, which will afford no Shelter, nor Security from the Inclemency of the Weather; which will give you the Camelion's Diet, without its Quality to digest or receive Nourishment from it. I am ashamed to think of the Vanity and frantic Hypothesis of your Letter of *Gold* being multiplied by the Virtue of Herbs, in the Manner you propose; and I am sorry there should be Room for such Chimera's, in a Head which I thought so full and well furnished. Dear Sir, return to your Reason, and build not, like Children, Houses of Cards and Sand, which the least Breath of Reflexion and returning Sense, must throw down and demolish; live contentedly with the Fortune God has given you, which, if you manage prudently, will always give you a Sufficiency, for, if I am not mistaken, you have no expensive Vices that want great Supplies. If you should continue in this Delirium, by heating the Furnaces you talk of, you will melt  
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all the Gold you have, without making as much as will be worth a single Drachma; if you consider what I have said, as you ought, you will now think me your true Friend, if not, Poverty, and Experience of your Mistake, when it too late, will convince you that I was so.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Yours, &c.

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*A Letter from Miss + + + + to Lady + + + +  
a former Maid of Honour, on her Recovery from  
the Small-Pox.*

*My dear Lady Charlotte,*

THE Concern which your Illness gave me, could be equalled by nothing but the present Contrast, my Joy at your Recovery. I am told you are very angry at my not coming to see you; but pray, my Dear, hear the Reason before you condemn me. You must know I never had the Small-Pox, and tho' there may be no Danger, I cannot help my Fears; I had once plucked up my Spirits, and sent for my Chair; but the Thought immediately came into my Head, that the Hail which fell upon you, without its usual Effects, might revenge itself on me, and pepper me off for a ceremonious and imprudent Civility; and then what must have become of a poor *Maid of Honour*, with nothing but her royal Mistress's Bounty, to get her a *Husband*?

As yet my Face has no Pimples nor have I *drank* it into Redness, nor *painted* it into *Wainscot*, but it retains the to-



lerable Form and Features which my good Maker gave it. If it has not Charms enough to catch a *Duke* or an *Earl*, yet it may get a young Pair of Colours in the Guards, or throw perhaps an old battered Colonel at my Feet: But disfigured by that spiteful and ugly Distemper, I must either die a Maid, or end my Days behind a Counter in the City, with no more BALLS, or PLEASURES in my Prospect, but a Walk with my spruce Husband to his Hall on a LORD MAYOR'S DAY, to open the Ball with some clean shirted Prentice, or Merchant's Book-keeper. If this is not a sufficient Plea to excuse my not waiting on your Ladyship, your good Nature, that *Beauty* of your *Mind*, is gone, however favourable that Disease, which is the common Enemy of a Complexion has been to your Face. All her Friends trembled for Lady *Charlotte* but myself: And now mark how I am going to present you with a fine Stroke, and a Simile. As the Sun drives back the Vapours of the Earth, by the Strength of its Beams; so your bright Eyes have sent back the Malignity of the Small-Pox, from your lovely Face, which Heaven would not suffer that Distemper to pit and spoil, because it was unwilling one of the finest of its Works should fall its Victim, and cease to promote its Creator's Praise and Honour. I forget, the Princess has sent, and the Chair waits, or I could say a thousand such Things. Lord keep every Girl of *Face* and *Condition* from such a Misfortune as you have wonderfully escaped, to the Joy of all the pretty Fellows in Town, and the particular Pleasure and Satisfaction of,

*My dear Lady,*

*Your whimsical Friend,*

H

A. B.

*In*

*In nova fert animus, mutatas dicere formas.*

Ovid.

Published in a Weekly Paper in 1738.

S I R,

I Was the other Day at a crouded Coffee-house near the *Royal Exchange*, when, to my great Surprise, not a Word was spoke of the *Convention*, which obtained for that Time a most favourable Reprieve from Censure and Remark ; even the Papers of the Day went without their usual Compliment of Perusal, and the Adventures of the *Masquerade*, expelled every other Topic of Conversation. The Night before it seems had had opened this Scene of *Gallantry* and *Politeness*, and drawn most of the present Company from their *Shops*, and their *Compting-houses*. As their *Minds* had been unbent to Business some time before, so I found them as yet unfit for their respective Employments, and the loose Behaviour, which it would have been next to virtuous to conceal, these Boasters of their Shame seemed labouring for an Opportunity to discover, inasmuch, that out of Charity I could have almost wished the Coffee-house a Masquerade, and that these Mirrors of Folly and Indiscretion had still been *incog*.

In short, every one had some Intrigue to brag of ; and the the only Misfortune hinted at in this ingenious Diversion was, any favourable Opportunity lost of injuring some *Husband* or Father. The *charming Shepherdes*, the *pretty Quaker*, the *smart running Footman*, and *coy Nun*, &c. which composed this whimsical Group of Figures, were the Subjects of Conversation and Encomium. The *Christian* and the *Turk*, the *Short Cloak*, and the *Popish Domine*, were there seen in *Coalition*, and could all play and get drunk together ; even the *Merchant* was there reconciled to the *Spaniards*, and the *Search* and *unlawful visiting*, which the former had so much complained of, was

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an unjustifiable Liberty with another Man's Vessel, which now, under this Cover, he had no Objection to.

I found from their Description, that the Jokes greatly lay in suiting a Dress to a Man's Person and Capacity. The *Habit* of a fat, *greasy Cook* was thought extremely proper for a Man of *Bulk* and *Corpulency*, and the *plump Gentleman* so ingeniously disposed of was quite charming and engaging; that of a *Chimney-sweeper* was esteemed very witty and humourous in a *dirty Fellow*, who is naturally averse to *Cleanliness* and *Decency*. A *four ill natured Man*, or a *growling Husband* was mightily admired in a *Bear-Skin*; a *rustling Bar Gown* was expressive of *Loquacity* and *Affurance*; and some *Stations of Eminence* were archly, tho' saucily, represented in *old Womens Dresses*; and to the Man of complying Party Principles, *Leading-strings* were thought properly adapted. From this Description of the *most innocent* and *pleasing* Part of the *Diversión*, they proceeded to an Account of their *Amours* and *Assignations*, of the illegal Captures and Seizures which the *Morning* produced; of the *whispered Obscenities*, loose *Witticisms*, and *impure Dialect* of the Place; and the whole ended with a filthy Declaration of Intemperance and Debauchery, in a vain Boast of these young Prentices, that they had eat and drank out the Value of their Tickets. I had almost forgot to tell you, that among that wide Circle of Listners to this ingenious Conversation, there were two spruce Gentlemen of the *Cloth*, whose Preferments were those upper Kind of Servants called *Lords Chaplains*, tho' they both confessed their Promotions to be *Sine Cures*; and one of them in particular said, there had not been Prayers read in his Lord's Family since the Death of his Grandmother; however, it furnished them with broad Scarfs; they appeared fat with the Dainties and Luxuries of their noble Patron's Table, and were qualified for two Livings, which they intended to leave to the Curate they could get cheapest, and to make the same *Sine Cures* of to themselves, as their present Preferment. These Gentlemen, who as Divines appeared in Masquerade themselves, with a smart *French-shaped Coat*, and a button'd-



up Hat, were extremely attentive to this captivating Topic; and upon my shaking my Head at some of the Descriptions of this high Diversion, they looked as if they thought me a stupid old Put, and unfit for any genteel or polite Assembly: However, I could gather nothing from these fine Gentlemen to alter the Opinion I had long entertained of this expensive Diversion, and which I take to be corruptive to the Morals, and hurtful to the Fortunes and Persons of Men; for without gaming and intriguing, I have heard many Lovers of Masquerades say it would be very insipid, affording very little more Pleasure than the skipping of *Harlequins*, and squeaking of Fools, with a *Do you know me?* which composes great Part of the Wit of the Place. What a Confession is this of the Badness of a Diversion whose Pleasure and Entertainment are built upon *two* of the most enormous and destructive *Vices* of the Age. Every one put on a Disguise to conceal himself and his Actions from Notice and Observation, and which no one has Occasion for, whose Deeds and Words are always in Character. A *Mask* is put on for Liberty to say Things we are ashamed of *without one*; and the Tongue indulges itself in Impurity and Indecency under *this* Cover and Secrecion of the Person. To the Honour of the Fair Sex, and particularly the *English Ladies*, they have a native Modesty, which is an additional Beauty of the Sex: And can a Parent answer sending his Daughter in the Bloom of Innocence and Virtue, where she will be in Danger of hearing Things to blush, and be confounded at! There is something awful in Virtue which keeps *Lewdness* and *Obscenity* out of a Mask at a Distance: And why should the chaste Ear be a Moment liable to the Offence of Ribaldry and Indecency? We are naturally averse to Reproof, and hate nothing more than to hear of our Faults, and yet croud to a Place where the Moment we are discovered, whatever our Rank or Quality may be, every minute and ridiculous Action of our Lives is with great Freedom related to us by some conceal'd and saucy Remonstrancer; the Liberty which we will not allow a Preacher at Church, we suffer any Fellow to take at the Masquerade, are upbraided with  
our

our Mistakes and Failings, and are treated there with the greatest Familiarity by those, who at another Time we should think much beneath our Notice and Acquaintance. Persons of high Rank and Dignity are not secure from Abuse and Impertinence; and the greater a Man is discovered to be, the greater Whetstone he is made of saucy Wit and Raillery.

The Limits of your Paper will not suffer me to enumerate the many Dangers and Inconveniencies which, in my Opinion, may arise from this Diversion; the many random Shots of Folly and Impertinence, which to a Man of Reason and good Sense must render it odious and disagreeable, at least vain and whimsical.

I am, &c.



# APPENDIX.

*From Sir HENRY COBHAM, Ambassador, to the  
Earl of LEICESTER, in the Time of the Civil  
War in Fraunce.*

I Received your Lordshippes laste Letters by Mr. *Floride*, synce whose comynge the Affaires of this Countrey do procede towarde the Preparacione of Warres, which is the more doubted, synce the Prince of *Conde* and Monsieur *la Val*'s passinge into *Germany*; so as by many Wayes the Princes and others of the Religion, are throughely constraigned to take Armes for the Safegarde of their Lyves. The Extremityes which have dryven them therunto, are sett downe in a Discourse of the Kynge of *Navarre*, which he hath directed to the Nobility of this Realm, and of all other Countreys; the Copy wherof your Lordships may hearwith receive, together with the Copy of the Prince of *Conde* his Letter sent to the Kynge at his partynge from *la Fere*: So as your Lordships may easily perceave by theis how that the Protestaunte Princes, are moved to enter into Hostility, dryven therunto, not only by apparante Oppressiones and Indignities used, but farder styrred uppon the Consideratione of certayne Discoueryes of some extrem violent Practises pretended against the generall Professours of the Religion; as appeareth not only by the Devyses and masked Def-

seigns :



feigns which are daily tramped in *Fraunce*, but by the ceremonyall  
 Proceffiones, Fasting, and Pilgrymages, extraordinary used at  
*Rome*, by the Popes Personne and Cardinals at the renewed Bulles  
 againste her Majesty: The Emperouers extirpinge of the Exercise  
 of Religione out of *Vienna*: His Meanes made to levye great  
 Sommes in *Bohemia* and *Hungarye*, with the plantinge of some Je-  
 suites in *Bohemia*: The Meanes used in *Germany* by setting forth of  
 Corp. Doct. by those two Preachers, wherby the Princes of the  
 Empire and the other Estates might growe to some Desagremente:  
 The procured Rebellyones in *Irelande*: The sendinge of *D'Aubigny*  
 into *Scotlande*: The making of Seminaries in *Rheims* and *Parys* for  
*English* and *Scottishmen*: The repairinge of so many indisposed Sub-  
 jects of her Majesty into theis Parts from all other Coastes: The  
*Spanishe* Kyngs takinge of Truce with the *Turke*, which is thoughte  
 to be contrived with the Consent of the best in their Parts: The  
 Army addrested into *Spayne* by the Confederates, which is now  
 (upon Occasione) as yet employed againste *Portugalle*, howsoever it  
 hath or is ment to be bestowed, and all this to falle out at one Tyme,  
 whych discovereth it to be put in Action by some generall Order and  
 chief Consent. So as this muche being already knowne to your  
 Lordships, and now hearby remembered, I hope will move your  
 Lordships with your greatest Zeale to imploye those your Counsailes  
 which have hitherto happily served God, her Majesty, and your  
 Contrey; and for that by my Pens only, I have shewed my Mynde  
 bent toward your Lordshipp. I am now desyrous for the farther Sa-  
 tisfactione of the Love I bear you, and your Safety, to present  
 your Lordship with a Horse of the Kingdome of *Naples*, which  
 may serve under you, being a Beaste altogether without Feare, as  
 your Lordshipp may easily by any Proof perceave, and is sufficiently  
 readye; with the which, I wille your Lordshipp may be as well  
 pleased, as I do willingly present him at your Fete, with that Af-  
 fectione I bear to your Lordship, havinge meanes to bynde me to  
 you

you more, yf more can be. I do humbly thank your Lordships for the Words you have used lately to her Majesty in my Favoure, as I am advertised by Mr. Secretary *Willsonne*, beseeching you to advance my Good, as willingly as I have gyven Place to receive Benefits at your Commaundement; the which, and all other Things fytte for me, I leave to your honorable Consideration.

Doe betake Mr. *Wade*, the Bearer hearof, unto your Lordships favourable receaving, hearing and usinge, being instructed throughly in the State of these Affaires, and one which is sufficiently knowne to your Lordship to have bestowed his Tyme very well, havinge Parts whych can deserve so well of her Majesty, as I wishe he was her Highnes's sworne Servaunte, and so retourned hither; of whose Company I shall have Nede in theis dangerous Tymes, for I know him assured to his Countrey, and particulerly my honest Friend.—I besech your Lordship to delyver unto him wherein I may best serve her Highnes and content you most, being very desyrous to obey your Commaundements, wishing your Lordship prosperous Estate.—Mr. *George Hoptonne* is on his Retourne into *England*, whom I perceave to be a sufficient well-disposed Gentleman, and hath particularly furnished himself with the Observationes of the Grand Seignior's Court, and the Manner and Quallity of the negotiating for that Place especially; so as her Majesty may very well serve herself of him that Waye, (yf ther be Occasione) as otherwise into *Italye*, which I leave to your Lordships Judgement and Lykinge.

From PARIS, the  
9th of June, 1750.

*To the Lord TREASURER.*

**T**HOUGH ther hath ben (my Lorde) some Opinione conceived hitherto of the Contynuanee of Peace, now it semeth they of the Religione doubt therof, and begin to provide somewhat more warily, as they may for ther Salfeties; so, as seing the chiefeft Prynces have ben so delt with as they are, for their better Defense dryven to join themselves with their Friends: The Gentlemen and others do shrink from *Parys* and suche like Places, retyr-inge them, the rather for that the Kyng dothe not only seke them which take Armes, but doth inquire after and apprehend those, whych any waye with Money or otherwise do comforte or assiste the afflicted Protestaunts. I doe hear inclose the Copy of the Prince of *Conde's* Letter directed to the Kyng at his Partinge; and Mr. *Wade* hath to shew your Lordshipp translated into *Englishe*, the Copy of the Kyng of *Navarre* his Protestations: I do lykewise send your Lordship an Edicte, now sett forthe by the Courte of Parliament, for the levyeng on the inclosed Tounes so muche Moneye as shall pay the Wages of fiftie thousand Footemen.—Ther are Preparations made for the Siege of *La Fere*. The Kyng gyveth out many Commissiones, for levyeng of armed Men in sondry Provinces of his Realm; especially in *Languedoc*, *Prouence*, *Bourgoigne*, *Champagne*, and *Picardye*—as yet Monseigneur is at *Fours*; but I heare he parteth from thence to visitte the Duke of *Montpensier*, and so passeth to *Angiers*; his Highnes as yet contynueth the Treatye of Peace with the Kyng of *Navarre*, but the Kynges Majestie hath so lymited his Commission, as ther is small Fruicte looked to come therby.—The three Commissioners for the *Lowe Countreys* doe as yet contynue with *Monseigneur*.—The Kyng of *Spayne* went to *Badajos* the laste Week, wher he hath gyven Order for the divydinge of his Army by Sea into three sondry Partes; the greatest Parte to make their Entry at the  
Mouthe



Mouthe of the Ryver of *Tajo* besyde *Lisbona*; the others are ap-  
poynted to keepe the Coaste of *Apbrica*, and the Coaste towarde *Ga-  
lizia*; on the other Side, the *Portugais* haue putte themselves in order  
for their Defence; so as this Daye it is reported, the Kynge shold be  
entred the Frontiers of *Portugalle*; but I have sene no Letters therof.  
I have delt with the Lord *Hammiltone*, accordinge to the Instructi-  
ons receaued from her Majesty; he hath wrytten and assured her  
Highnes of his Service towarde her, but loathe as yet, that he and  
his Brother both shold be together in *Englande*. Uppon Mistruste  
that the Lorde *Mortonne* hath so great Friends in *Englande*.—I doe  
attend daily for the comynge of the *Italyane* from *Mylane*, whom  
your Lordship in your laste Letters willed me to send for.—I sup-  
pose that Mr. *Waad*'s Service, and assured Devotion to your Lord-  
ship is so well knowne, as I nede not recommend him unto you;  
but I shold thinke myself beholden to your Lordship, yf that by  
your Meanes he mighte become the Quenes sworne Servante, yf it  
so like you; for that he doth attend only uppon those Favoures  
whych it shall please your Lordship to bestowe on him, having al-  
wayes belonged unto you only; if it may be to your Lykinge, he  
maye stande me in very good Stead, for the Service of her Majesty  
in theis Tymes; I have enlarged to him my Mynde, for to delyver  
to your Lordshipp as to the particuler Estate of this Countrey, and  
some other Causes, desyringe the Contynuanee of your good Healthe  
and prosperous long Lyfe.

*From PARIS, the 19th  
of June, 1580.*

*The Duke of LENOX, 12 of December, 1639, to  
the Earle of LEICESTER, concerning his Brother,  
Lord LODOVIC STEWARD.---From the Original.*

My LORD,

I Am not so unreasonable to wish you had not Power to oblige, because I would not rest only concluded in that Condition: I confesse you deserve all Advantages, and in my Particular, have long bine posselt, so absolutely, as nothing from mee hath proceeded to alter the Ballance, or moderate my Engagement; and yet that Courfe is not ended; for now my Fortune throws mee upon you to seeke Favour, which hitherto you have allwaies prevented with so actiue Heartinesse as would not suffer you to bee intreated. The Matter wherein you may add to the Varietie of Obligations which hold mee, is in what Protection and Assistance you may please to give my Brother *Lodowicke*, to which you have the Kinges good Wishes, and the oblidging still more the Familie of,

WHITEHALL, 10ber 12:  
*our Stile, 1639.*

Your LORDSHIPS

*Most humble Servant,*

J. LENOX.

*Note, The Signet of this Letter is a Bull's Head, with a Ducal Coronet, and the Motto of the Garter round it, Honi soit qui mal y pense.*

*The*

*The first Audience of Sir HENRY WOTTON, Knt.  
sent as Ambassadour Extraordinary, from the  
King of Great Britain, to the States General of  
the United Provinces.*

THURSDAY, 4 AUGUST, 1614.

THE said Ambassador (after the Solemnity) said, That his Majesty had understood by the Notices of his proper Ministers, and by the Complaints of the Lords, the Arch-Dukes, repeated by the Mouth of their Ambassadour in Ordinary; that the Lords, Arch-Dukes, had made new Levies of Men of War, under certain Umbrage by them taken, at a strong Garrison put into the Town of *Juliers*, by the States. Wherefore his Majesty having Reason to be dubious, that such Jealousies may begett exceeding great Mischiefs, to see the Truce broke, and the Quiet which the Provinces at present enjoy, by the Mediation of their Neighbours; thought it his Duty, without any particular End, than the Discharge of his own Conscience, towards God and the World, immediately to dispatch the said Ambassadour to the States, to whom his Majesty gave Order to represent very earnestly, how fresh in Memory the Troubles past were: And the present good Quiet, and the Difficulty of making Return on easy Considerations, and the Dependance of their Lords: Wherefore his Majesty advised them, as a good Friend and Neighbour, to proceed in this Affair, with a slow Foot: And to dispose themselves to some peaceable League, for reconciling the whole honourably. The said Ambassador added, that his Majesty had conceived great Hopes, that his Intercession, with his good Neighbours, in this Business, would not be fruitless;



since that the Chevalier *Carion*, their Ambassador, and a Gentleman by his Deserts, and esteemed by his Majesty, had assured him by his present Commission, that the said States would be contented to honour the King of *Great Britain*, to take his Proposals and Advice upon the present Subject, and to refer it to his Decision. To conclude; the said Ambassador humbly entreated the States, as from himself, to consider of what he has said, and what hereafter he shall say, not only the Imperfections and Insufficiencies in declaring; but the natural Frame of his Master, abstracted by his own Goodness, from the ordinary Rites of Princes, who use themselves rather to cherish their Neighbours Distractions than to destroy them: And to lay on a great deal of Wood, and but little Water; and somewhat more was said to the same Purpose.

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*The second Audience of the said Ambassador.*

THE Ambassador said, That according to the Rules of the Philosophers, all well-disposed Actions ought to have a good End, and an equal Middle. As to the first, He has well comprehended that his Majesty and the States agreed in the same good End and Intention; for the King his Master had no other End, than the Tranquility of their Provinces, which he had Reason to love and nourish, as Mothers do their Children, whom they have brought forth with much Labour. That the Meaning being good, afterwards it was convenient to search out the most proper Means to attain it. That his Majesty judged of Matters more to the Purpose, than to put the Town of *Juliers* into any dangerous Hands, till the Decision of the Right. And to that End had commanded the said  
Ambassa-

Ambassadour, to propose these Princes, the most indifferent and disinterested of all others, *to wit: Maurice, Lantgrave of Hesse, Christian, Prince of Anbault, and the Prince of Orange.* After which, the said Ambassadour paus'd a-while, upon some Exception, which they might make against the Person of the last proposed; seeing he was the Eldest of the Illustrious House of *Nassau*; to which the said Ambassadour oppos'd a Consideration of the other Side, by Way of Counterballance, *viz.* That he was a Subject of the Arch-Dukes. To conclude; the Ambassadour humbly advis'd the States not to march their Forces, without a more evident Necessity. Adding thereto, that he had try'd a Way, soon to know the Inclination of the Arch-Dukes.

S I G N'D,

HENRY WOTTEN.

*Sir Frances Vere to Sir Robert Sidney (after Earl of Leiceſter) Lord Governor of Flushing.*

S Y R,

I N youres of the last *January*, you make mentyon to have receaved as then no Answer to any of yours; whearfore I am forcead to curſe the Meſſengers, and to proteaſt unto you, this is the Fyſth ſynce I parted from you, of which *Muſer* and *Tench* carried two: And I pray, Sir, reaſt assured, that I wyll rather deſerve Blame for hantying you with idle Lynes, then for want of Writing.

Since

Since that your Journey heather is deferread, I cannot be sorrye for your going into *England*; for that I am out of Doubt the Journey wyll afforde you Contentment many Wayes: And among the rest, in doyng these Offyces for your Friendes which you mention; and for which, I must needes geve you great Thanckes. Now, Sir, my thinckes, you have halfe donn in *England*; and thearfore, as to the Meanes which you have sett downe to draw you heather, I must let you knowe, that wee prepare a Mayne to be in the Fielde this Summer; and the Generall doth conceaue already so well of the Bravery of his Troupes, that he sayth, if the States wyll make Sale of them, it must be this Summer; and, indeed, I am perswadead, they byde fayrer then ever I sawe them yeatt. This Day I had speache with him about your Compagnye, and that of Syr *Nycolas Parker*, and made this Motyon, That the States should make upp boathe the Compagnes, to be defaltead againe when her Majestie and they do accompt for all; which he seamed to lyke, and promisead, so thatt I make no Doubt butt some good Effect wyll ensue. And as for the honoring you with some Command in the Fielde, as Occasyon shal be offread; I will not sayle boathe to move his Excellencie, and Madame, whose Furtherance I am sure shal not be wantyng. Of my Lord of *Essex* goyng to Sea, I am sorry to hear, unleas I could perswade myself, that before his goyng, he would furnyshe the Court with Offyces, for thatt itt wyll easly prove his Adversaryes Work whylst he is absent: And I should guesse, that *Rawleygb*'s goyng from the Court, should be a Stratagem to make the Earle carelesse. When you are thear, you must houlde styfflye to the prosecutyng of this Worcke. Itt is marveyled very muche, why *Caron* should be thus itagered, and fearead of oure Generall---that he bryngeathe new Matter or other, to lessen his Army, and to breake his Purpos of shewyng his Army to the Kyng this Season.

Hence



Hence I can sende you no Newes of Moment. The Matter of *Hulst* is styll hardeheld betwyxt Justyce and Favor. Howbeit, we gather, thatt in the End Mattres wyll be handlead to the salvyng of his Creditt. Thear hathe been Speache he should be Generall of the Hors: And now of late, of gyving him the Regyment of the Count *Philypp*; for which in generall he is healde fyttter. The Count *Hulocke* hathe been att Square with me about our late Searvice, and sent me a Lettre, whearin he requyread Satisfaction to some idle Exceptyones, whearunto I have made hym Answear, some Dayes synce, so thatt I heare no more of that Mattre. Itt was the worse Dayes Searvice for me, thatt ever I was att, if itt doe me as muche Hurtt in *Englande* as heare; whereat, I knowe you wyll geave a good Guefs, when you read the Discourse they have published, whearin I am not mentyoned but so as I am not only barred of my Deuty, butt disparagead in theyr sutyng me with a Companyon. In the seconde Place, I am namead in theyr sayd Discours; agaynst theas Encounters I have prepared an Ansuer *de breyve mayn*, which now fearveth my Turn very weall: And in the Middle of theas Crosses, I have Recours to the Contentment I promise my sealf in the Royal Favour, whearunto I doe also acknowleadg you my only Meanes, nott doubtyng, but you wyll contynew to me those good Offices you have geaven me hope off; which I could wyshe weare conformed, with the Testimony of true Favour from her, to honor heartylie, and geave me Curradge, and care to doe nothing unfytt for him that should be worthy to wear itt. And though I be already bounde to the uttermost of my Abylity for your other Favoures, to doe you beaft Service; yeat shall I account of this above all the reast, and thearfore study how to inable mysealf to requyte itt; whearunto I shal be greatly helpt, if you will geave me sure Lyght how I may doe you Service in the same Kynde. And

\* S f f

so,

so, Sir, ashamed to have fyllead a Sheete of Paper, with so spungie Stuff, I humbly take my Leave.

HAGUE, *this 8th*  
February, 1596.

Your LORDSHIP'S

Most ASSURED,

To doe you Service,

F. VERE.

*Sir Francis Vere to Sir Robert Sidney (after Earl of Leicester) Lord Governour of Flushing.*

S Y R,

**Y**OURS of 26th February and fyrst March, were delyvered me at one Instant; for which humblye I geave you great Thanckes, and wyll as Occasyn fearveth, make the beaft Requytall I can for the fame. I am glad you have suspended the sendyng of your Horfes, for that my Man *Collynes* is not here, and that myself expeact every Day Ordre to follow his Majesty into *Guelderland*, by which Meanes your Servantes and Horfes shall want the Address of us, who would have been ready to have assyfted them: But if you have no Use of them thear, I doe thincke you wear as good to send them heather, for that your Charge shall nott be yncreasead,

as

as that on every sodayne Occasion you may have them to fearve your Turne. For your Compaynye of Hors, Syr *Nicholas Parker*, I am sure hathe informead you att large, what Course shal be taken at the Return of *Monsieur de Caron*, to whome the States will seriously recommend the Pourfuit. Touchyng the Difordere of your Compayne, I have hearde nothyng but from your sealf; all which, I am perswaded, would easely be redresshead, with a little more Severitye in your Offycer, whose greatest Defeact I have noated to be his Lenitye; but if they had so gotten the Head, that he could nott reduce them to Reason, I shall use the best Meanes I can. You shall know when his Majestie hathe any thyng in Hand, and thoughe you should be syngle, the Honour you doe him is so great, that he cannott butt take itt exceedyng kyndlye; att the least, you shall satisfy yourself, and take awaye the Occasion of blamyng you att Home, when you transgress nott her Majesties Commandments. I doe know the *Ammyrall* hath movead his Majestie in an Exployt; but, whether it be thatt you meane, I know nott weall, but gheas itt is some other whearof you knowe not, and shal be the Executor of hym sealf. I have nott yeatt in Readynes the Order; nott thatt itt is a Matter thatt requyreath muche Labor; butt nott to hyde my Fault, a Sloughfullnes in my sealf which keapeth me from doying itt in some good Sortt: I wyll amend that Fault, and send you them by the Fyrst, whearin I wyll make sumwhatt the more Hast; for that I shall nott dare to aske of you the Order sentt downe at *Plsmouth*, by my Lord of *Essex*, till I have satisfyeed your Requeast. I cannott wryte one Jott of Newes, butt thatt we have a frashe Rumor from the other Quarter, that three of the Enemyes newe Regymments marche towards *Tylmont*. This Change of Wynde hathe made you acquayntead how Matters stand at Home;



Home; whearof, when your Leysure serveathe, I shall be gladd to have Part. And so, Syr, I leave you to God.

HAGUE, *this 9th*  
Marche, 1596.

Your LORDSHIPS

*Most Affectionat,*

*To doe you Service.*

F. VERE.

*Copy of the Letter which his Majesty CHARLES the II.  
King of England, sent to the Baron of Fresheim.*

My Lord Baron of FRESHEIM,

SINCE I find myself under a Necessity of continuing here for some Time, my Affairs obliging me thereto, I was very willing to lett you understand, that though I sent for my Goods for my Use here; I continue nevertheless in the Mind to return to *Aix*, there to sojourn, so soon as I can dispatch my Business here. Wherefore, I beseech you, to have the same good Will towards me, as heretofore you have had, and to keep your House for me, in the same Condition it now is, till my Return. And as I know you have been at extraordinary Charges to make Things commodious for me, so I will have particular Care to give you Satisfaction, and also upon all Occasions that shall offer, wherein I can do any good Offices for you or yours, I will show you in fact that I am extremely sensible of the good Services you have done me, and how truly, I am,

At COLOGNE, 20  
Oct. 1654.

My Lord Baron DE FRESHEIM,

*Your Good Friend,*

CHARLES R.

*A Ma-*

*A Manuscript, intituled, An Antient Fragment of the Ecclesiastical and Temporal Government, of a well constituted Realm; with the proper Oeconomy and Duty of each Individual; the former Part is an old Hand, and the latter seems to be an Addition, and wrote some Years after.*

THE GOVERNANCE of this Realme is divided into two Parts; one Ecclesiastical, the other Temporal: The Ecclesiastical consisteth, in ordering the Word of God to be preach'd and set forth, and the People to continue in Prayer and godly Discipline. The setting forth of the Word of God consisteth, in the good discreet Doctrine, and Example of the Teachers and Spiritual Officers: For as the good Husbandman maketh his Ground good and plentiful, so doth the true Preacher with Doctrine and Example, print and graffe in the Peoples Mindes the Word of God, that they at length become plentiful. Prayers to God also must bee made continually of the People and Officers of the Church to assist them with his Grace. And these Prayers must first with good Consideration bee sett fourth, and Faults therein bee amended; nexte being sett fourth, the People must continually bee allured to heare them. For Discipline, itt were very good that itt went forth; and that these that doe notably offend in sweareing, riotting, neglecting of Gods Word, or such like Vices, were duly punished; for that those that should bee the Executors of this Discipline, were Men of tryed Honesty, Wisdom, and Judgment. But because these Bishops who should execute, some for Papistry, some for Ignorance, some for Age, some for their ill Name, some for all these,

are Men unable to execute Discipline; it is therefore a Thing unmeet for these Men. Wherefore itt were necessary, that these that were appointed to be Bishops or Preachers, were honest in Life, and learned in their Doctrine; that by rewarding of such Men, others might be allured to follow there good Life. As for the Prayers, and the divine Service, itt were meet, the Faults were drawne out as itt was appointed by learned Men, and for the Booke to bee established, and all Men willed to turne thereunto, to heare the Service, as I have putt in Remembrances in Articles touching the Statutes of this Parliament. But for Discipline, I would wish noe Authority given generally to all Bishops, but that Commiſſion bee given to those that bee of the best Sorte of them, to exercise itt in their Diocesses. Thus much generally for Religion.

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### TEMPORAL REGIMENT.

**T**HE Temporal Regiment consisteth in well ordering, enriching, and defending the whole Body Politicke of the Commonwealth, and every Parte of the Whole, for one hurt not the other; the Example whereof may bee best taken of a natural Body; for even as the Arme defendeth, helpeth, and aydeth the whole Body, cheifely the Head; so ought Servingmen and Gentlemen cheifely, and such like Kind of People bee alwayes ready to the defence of their Country, and cheifely of their Superiour and Governour, and ought in all Things to bee vigilant and painfull, for the increasing and ayding of their Countrey: And, forasmuch as they in serving



ing their King and Country, have diuers great and manifold Charges; even as the Arme doth many times beare great Streffes for Defense of the Head and Body, having noe Kind of Way to enrich themselves, neither by Merchandise, neither by Handicrafte, neither by Husbandry: As the Arme doth decoct noe Meat itt selfe, nor ingendreth Bloode; therefore, even as the Stomache, Liuer and Lights, which Partes ingender the Blood, do send Nourishment to the Armes and Leggs, sufficient to strengthen the Part; even soe must the Artificiers, so use their Game in Workeing, and soe truly and justly make that that they worke; the Merchants must soe sell their Ware, and soe labour to bring in strange Commodities; the Husbandmen must pay such Rent, and be diligent in his Labour of Agriculture, that he may be useful in his Generation: and though a poor Yeoman and Cottager, may be despis'd: He is more serviceable to the World with his Cart and Team, than a Squire with his Coach, Huntsman and Hounds. The poor industrious Gardener, is an Instrument of God, to bring forth the Fruits of his gracious Providence: And whilst he maintains his own Family, prepares the Fruit for those, who, God help them, would never feast on any, if the Ground was to be dung'd, the Vines prun'd and dress'd with their delicate Fingers. All the garnish'd Tables, and elegant Deserts of the Rich, are procur'd from the Labour and Sweat of the Poor; who, if faithful and industrious, are a most valuable Part of Mankind.

Society is a large Family, a first rate Ship, with a Number of Hands; some at the Helm, others in lower Offices at the Stern: Some are in Command, others Passengers, or at the Boatswain's Whistle, and all useful and profitable in their Degrees. The Passenger pays for his idle Station, and to be carried on his Way to some wish'd-for Port. All the Members of the Community,  
are

are to design and labour for the common Good ; some with their Parts and Learning to instruct ; others with their large Fortune to relieve ; and others to visit, comfort, amuse and entertain the Unhappy and Low-spirited ; these are what Scholasters and Divines call social Virtues ; all should be harmonious and usefull in the Body Politick, as in the Body Natural.

A King is the supreme Head and Governor, and his Throne should bear what Resemblance it is capable of to the Throne of God, which is called in Scripture the *Throne of Grace*.

Subjects, the inferior Members of the Body Politick, in their Posts should be Affectionate, Loyal and Dutyful to their Prince ; not murmuring and discontented, adding to the Weight and Toyl of Empire, by promoting popular Uneasinesses and Disatisfactions ; but should chearfully give God and Cæsar, the Things which are theirs, Tribute to whom Tribute is due, Custom to whom Custome, Fear to whom Fear, Honour to whom Honour ; they should abstain from *all Appearance* of Sedition and Faction, keep from all private Cabals and Meetings, and act like the prudent Man, who in a Street crosses the Way to avoid the Mobs and tumultuous Assemblies, which may endanger his Pocket and his Person. He should *study to be quiet, and do his own Business*, that he may enjoy peaceably the Fruits of his Labours, secure from the Frowns and Scourges of Authority. Nothing is more prejudicial to the middleing Class of Mankind, than Politicks and an improper meddling in State Affairs, which often hinder the things more needful to themselves and Familys, and are frequently un safe and ruinous. St. Paul lays down a good Plan for a free, and, indeed, for all People ; which is *not to use Liberty for a Cloke of Malitiousness, but as the Servants of God*, to be obedient to higher Powers, as set up by God, the great Governor of the World ; to fear Him, honour the King, and not meddle with them that are given to change.

Lords.

Lords and Masters of Servants, are to be affable and tender hearted; giving *Labour* its due and just *Hire*; should consider Servants as Part of their own Species, and that they are their Inferiors, not by Nature, but by Accident. Servants on their Parts, are to be civil, humble, and submissive, honest and industrious; remembring the Sentence of God's Word against the Idle and Slothful, that, *he that worketh not, neither should be eat*. Persons of Quality and Distinction should let their *Minds* as well as their *Coronets* declare their Nobility; should be exalted Patterns of Virtue, and give out Fashions of Sobriety and Goodness, as well as of Dress for their Inferiors to follow; should be pure in their Conversation, and chaste in their Actions; not tarnishing their Quality and Birth, by a mean and vulgar Deportment.

In the married State, *Husbands are to love their Wives, and not be bitter against them*; are never to depart from the true Courage and Spirit of Manhood, by lifting up their Hand against a weak, unarm'd, and defenceless Woman. Amongst all Creatures, but savage and inhuman Man, the Female is treated with Love, Tenderness, and Affection. The Paw of the Lyon and the Bear are nursing Arms of Love and Protection to the Female; and *Tygers receive a Courtship from the Male*. Woman, lovely Woman, has a Prerogative and Privilege of Sex; and there is no greater Act of Cowardice, than Cruelty to those who have chose us for their Guardians; left all their Friends, and given their whole Fortunes for the Protection and Care of their Persons from Wrong and Insult. Labour and Study for a Family, is the Provenge of the Husband, and Care, Sobriety, and a frugal Management of his House, is the District of the Wife; busy'd and fatigu'd in the Affairs of Life, a Man's House is to be his pleasant Asylum from all worldly Frowns and Vexati-



ons; and he should always be receiv'd with Smiles and Affection. The Husband should reserve some Chearfulness for his Family, as well as other Companions, not be lively at the Tavern and fullen at home; hanging up the Harp at the Door of his Mansion, and carrying in only Moroseness and Ill-temper. Jealousy, is of all Things to be avoided in a married State, as the certain Basis of Mischief and Unhappiness; there is nothing so rude and offensive; no Injury like a Supposition of such Guilt and Robbery, to a Woman of a great Soul, disdaining to forfeit that noblest Charter of her Sex, her Virtue, must be galling and distracting; nay, sometimes, 'tis a Provocative to the Crime we suspect: *Who thinks us false, says the Poet, Shall never find us true.* The same will hold on the other Side, and all the fine Features and Symetry of Beauty are lost, when jaundic'd and tinctur'd with Jealousy. *Lastly*, No Disparity of Fortune or Birth should cause any upbraiding, Uneasiness, or Reflection. The lowest Inferior is constituted by Marriage an Equal; 'tis our own solemn Act and Deed, made in the House and Presence of him, who is a Witness of the Contract, and will punish the Breach of it, by a withdrawing of his Blessing and Protection. These are the Rules and Orders to be observed under a Christian Government and Society, which will render all Orders and Degrees of Men, as happy and easy, as this Road of Life will permit, till we are arrived at that delightful Home, which will want no Regulation, because it will be a State of as great Perfection, as Felicity.

*A Coppie*

*A Coppie of the late Earl of Argiles Speech.*

**J**OB tells us, *Man that is born of a Woman, is of few Days, and full of Trouble*; and I am a cleare Instance of it.

I shall not say any thing of my Sentence now, or my Escape about 3 Years and a Half agoe, nor the Grounds of my Returne, least, I may thereby give Offence and be tedious; onely being to end my Days in your Prefence, I shall in my last Words, attest the Truth of the Matter of Fact, and the Sinceritie of my Intentions and Professions that are published.

All that I intend mainly to say now, is to expresse my humble, and (I thank God) cheerfull Submission to his divine Will; and my Willingnesse to forgive all Men, even mine Enemies; and, I am heartily well satisfied, there is no more Blood spilt, and that the Sheame of it may stop at me; that if it please the Almighty to say, as to *Zerubbabel, Zach. iv. 6.*

I know Afflictions spring not out of the Dust; God hath wonderfully delivered me and provided for me, and hath now by his speciall Providence brought mee to this Place; I hope none will insult or stumble att itt; for God Almighty doth all Things well, for good and holy Ends; though we do not allways understand it. Love or Hatred is not known to God, who is over us.

Afflictions are not onely foretold, but promised to Christians; and are not only tollerable, but desireable; we ought to have a deep Reverence and Feare of God's Displeasure; and, withall, a firme Hope and Dependance of him, for enableing us to comply with his Will; for God chastens his own, to refine, and not to ruine them; whatever the World thinks, *We must not shun Sufferings, we are called to them.*

We

We are neither to dispise our Afflictions, or faint under them; both are Extreames; we are not to suffer our Spirits to be exasperated against the Instruments of our Troubles; for the same Affliction may be to one Effect; that the Passion is sent to punish us for our Sin, though it is a Comfort, when we can say with *David*, *Psal.* lix. 3.

Nor are we by fraudulent, pusilanimous Compliances in wicked Courses, to bring Sin upon ourselves (faint Hearts are ordinary false Hearts) choosieing Sin rather than Suffering, and a short Life with eternall Death, and a Temporal before a Crown of Glory; such, who seeking to save a little, loose all, God usually hardens to their own Distruction. I know many like *Hazael*, *Goe to Excesses they never thought they were capable of.*

*Lett Rulers and others seriously read and weigh*, Prov. i. 20. Avoid that is bad, and follow that is good; as for me, I hope with God's Strength, to joyne with *Job*, Cap. xiii. 15. To trust, as *Psal.* cxlvii. 11. Shall pray, as *Psal.* lxxiv. 19. And shall hope, as *Psal.* lcv. 14, 15.

I doe hereby forgive all that have been the Cause either directly or indirectly to bring me to this Place; I pray God send Peace and Truth in these 3 Kingdomes, and continue and encrease the glorious Light of the Gospel, and restraine all Spirit of Prophanity, Atheisme, Oppression, Popery and Prosecution; and restore all that have backslidden from the Purity of their Lives and Principles; and blesse the whole People with Blessings spiritual and temporal, and put an End to the present Tryalls.

I entreat



I entreat all present to forgive me in what I have offended them; and concur with me, that the great, good, and merciful God would sanctifie my present Lott; and, for JESUS CHRIST Sake, pardon all my Sins, and receive me into everlasting Glory.

It is suggested to me, that I have said nothing of the Royall Family; and it remembers me, before the Justices at my Tryall about the Test; I said, that at my Death, I would pray that there would never want one of the Royall Family to be a Defender of the true antient Apostolique, Catholique, and Protestant Faith, in which I now dye. And that God would enlighten and forgive all of them that are either hid in Error, or are shrunk from the Profession of it: And in all Events, I pray, God may provide for the Security of his Church; and that Antichrist, or the Gates of Hell may never prevaile against it.

JULY 1, 1685.

That this is the true, just, and authentique Coppie of the said *Argiles* Speech, all written with his own Hand, and ordered to be transmitted to the Lords Secretary of the State of the Kingdome of *Scotland*, is attested,

*By Sir W. PATTERSON,*

*Clerke of his Majestyes Privy Councell.*

\* X x x

*An*

*The solemn Oath that is administred to the Princes Electors, when they meet for choosing a King of the Romans, the Spiritual having their Hands upon their Breasts, the Secular upon the Book all the while.*

**E**GO R. Sacri imperii Princeps Elector, jure ad sancta Dei Evangelia, hic presentialiter coram me posita, quod Ego, per fidem qua Deo, & sacro Romano Imperio sum ascriptus, secundum omnem discretionem, & intellectum meum, cum Dei adjutorio, eligere volo Temporale Caput populo Christiano, id est, Regem Romanorum in Cæsarem promovendum, qui ad hoc existat idoneus, in quantum discretio, & sensus mei me dirigunt, & secundum fidem prædictam. vocemque meam, & votum siue Electionem præfatam dabo absque omni Pacto, Stipendio, Precio, seu Promisso, vel quocunque modo talia valeant appellari, sic me Deus adjuvet, & omnes sancti.

### TRANSLATED.

**I**R. Prince Elector of the Sacred Empire, do swear, by the Holy Gospel of God put here before me, That I by the Faith wherein I am bound to God, and the Holy Roman Empire, will choose according to all my Discretion and Understanding, with the Help of God, a temporal Head for Christian People, *to wit*, a King of the Romans to be promoted to be Cæsar, one that may be idoneous for it, according as my Discretion and Senses shall direct me; and according to my foresayed Faith, I shall give my Voice and Vote, or forenamed Choice, without any Pact, Stipend, Price, or Promise,

mise, or by what Names soever such Things may be call'd. So help me God, and all his Saints.

This tremendous Oath is pronounc'd in *Latin*, the Language of the Empire in all Negotiations with foreign Princes; though the Electors be enjoyned by the great Charter of the Imperial Constitutions, viz. the *Golden Bull*, to speak the *Teutonique* or *High Dutch*, the *Italian*; and *Slavonique* Languages.

*Some monumental Inscriptions in Mr. Campden's  
own Hand Writing.*

**E**Dwardo Stanhopo, Michaelis Stanhopi, *ex ordine equestri filio, Equiti aurato, Legum Doctori, Episcopi Londinensis Cancellario, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis Vicario Generali in publicis Ecclesiae & Reipub. negotiis versatissimo qui certa spe in Christo resurgendi pie placideque obdormivit Die Anno Salutis, M, DC, VII.*

Joannes Baro Stanhopus de Harrington, & Michael Stanhopus,  
*Eques auratus fratres maestissimi officiosae pietatis & memoria ergo.*  
P. P.

*Hic obdormit in Domino.*

Joannes Rooperus, *Eques auratus Capitalis Clericus ad Placita in Curia Regis una cum Elizabetha uxore filia Richardi Parki, Armigeri, e qua progenuit Christopherum Rooperum, Equitem auratum, Elizabetham uxorem Georgii Vaulx, matrem Edwardi Baronis Vaulx, Joannem uxorem Roberti Lovelli, Equitis aurati. Viri qui bonique cultor,*



*cultor, hospitalis, pauperibus largus, vicinis benignus, &c. qui mortalitatis memor certa spe resurgendi in Christo hoc monumentum sibi binus posuit.*

*Hic situs est Thomas Heneagius, Eques auratus qui primum sacri cubi-  
culi Thesaurarius, deinde procamerarius, demum Ducat. Lancastriæ,  
Cancellarius, &c. ab intimis consiliis Elizabethæ Reg. cui & privatae  
& Principi fidei famaue integra maximis negotiis spectatus annos in-  
servivit hic, certa spe resurgendi, requiescit, una cum Anna uxore filia  
Nicholai Pointz, Equitis aurati ex Joanna filia Thomæ Baronis  
Berkley, e qua progeniuit unicam filiam Elizabetham Moilo Finch.  
equiti aurato enuptam quae parentibus charissimis supremum hoc pieta-  
tis posuit monumentum.*

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*The Names of the Lords of Allemagne, that were for  
the Prince of Conde in the French Civil War.*

**L**E Conti Palatin Electeur Grand Maître de l'Empire.

Le Duke de Wirtemberg,

Le Duke de Gomor.

Le Duke de Sirexbourge.

Le Prince d'Orange.

Le quates Princes Lantgrave des Hesse.

Le Duc Gulliamme de Saxe.

Le Margrave de Brandebourge Elector.

Le Margrave de Baden.

Le Duc de Pruse.

Le Duc de Pomerane.

Le Duc de Luneburg.

Les huit

Les Membres de l'Empire.

Item dix Villes de l'Empire.

*A very*

*A very scarce and curious Tract of the first Rise of the Roman Empire, and the sundry Rotations, or Retrogradations of Government that happened in Rome, &c. Anno 1650.*

NOW for a clearer Illustration of Things, and a more regular Proceeding, it is not amiss to fetch in Matters from their Fundamentals (for the furthest Way about is sometimes the neereſt Way home, ſpecially in the Reſerches of Truth;) and to do this, we muſt go to *Rome*, a City that hath had as many ſtrange Traverſes of Fortune, and Turns of Government, as any other upon Earth, having bin eight ſeveral Times raviſh'd and ranſack'd by ſundry warlike Nations. Firſt, by *Brennus* the *Bold Britain*, then by *Alaric* the *Goth*, afterwards by *Genſericus* the *Vandale*, then twice by *Totila* the *Hun*, after him by the *Mooreſ* and *Saracens*; then by three Chriſtian Emperours, viz. by *Henry* the Fourth, *Otho* the Third, and *Charles* the Fifth, when his General the Duke of *Bourbon* breath'd his laſt in ſcaling her Walls (and ſhe was lately like to receive an ill-favour'd Shock by the Duke of *Parma*) yet ſhe never fell *ſans recourse* as they ſay, or was ever layed ſo flat upon her Back, but ſhe recovered herſelf, and rays'd up her Creſt again, whence it may be inferr'd, that an extraordinary Providence, and tutelar Genius attended that Citty; 'tis tru, that the tranſlating of the Imperial Court by *Conſtantine* to *Bizantium* (which he chriſt-ned afterwards with his own Name) was fatal to *Rome*, when the Glory of the *Tyber* and *Tyrrhene* Sea paſs'd over to the *Helleſpont*; yet a ſpiritual Head preserv'd her ſtill in ſome Luſtre; inſomuch,

\* Y y y

that

that when the Pope came to be her Master, she might have bin sayed to have bin reduc'd to her first Principles, and to have pass'd from one Shepheard to another, *viz.* from *Romulus* to *Sylvester*; but ther were a World of Vicissitudes, and Revolutions of Governments interven'd, and pass'd between; her primitive and original Way of ruling was by Kings, but, after a hundred and forty Years Continuence, she surfett'd upon that, which Surfett may be sayed to have proceeded from the Peoples Wantonness, rather than from *Tarquins* Lust; then she was govern'd a-while by Consuls, so call'd a Consulendo, carrying a Memento of their Duty in their Names: Then followed the Decemvirs, who were put down for the same Vice that destroyed the Kings; after that, the Supremacy was elated to two Tribunes; then it revolved to Consuls, then to Tribunes again, but more than two, which lasted a good Tract of Time above seventy Yeers; then came Consuls in again the third Time; after that Dictators, until *Caius Julius Cæsar's* Time, who was the first perpetuall Dictator, and a little after the first Emperor, though it cost him dear; for, he might be sayed to have cimented the Foundation of the *Roman* Empire with his own Bloud, being murder'd in the Senat by small contemptible Tools, yet it remain'd in his Progeny to six Descents, *viz.* to *Domitius Nero*.

Thus after so many Rotations or Retrogradations of Governments, and a Kind of Cushion Dance of several Kind of Rulers, the Imperial was established at last, and the successive Emperours were us'd to be chosen by the Senat, and then saluted by the Army; but afterwards the legionary Soldiers and Pretorian Bands made Emperours *sub hasta* in the Field, and *Galba* was the first who was chosen so, and that with the Consent of the Senat; now it was the most unpolitique Act that ever the *Roman* Senat committed, which prov'd so fatal to so many of the following Emperours who held not their Security as much as their Lives from the Soldiers, which  
took



took them away at Plesure; for after that the Election pass'd from the Senat to the Sword, ther were above thirty Emperours that were put to violent Deaths, and som of them very tragical, four murthered themselves, many also of those that were adopted *Cæsars*, and design'd to succeed in the Empire were untimely made away, being rays'd to that Pitch that they might perish the sooner, as an Author sayes.

But to go more punctually to work, we will muster up here most of those Emperours that came to immature and violent Deaths; *Julius Cæsar* was assassinated in the Senat. *Octavius* the first *Augustus* (called so, *ab augendo Imperium*, from enlarging the Territories of the Empire) was made away by his Wife *Livia*; *Tiberius* by *Marco*; *Caligula* by *Cassius Ciberus*; *Claudius* poyson'd by his Wife *Agrippina*; *Nero* and *Otho* slew themselves; *Galba* and *Vitellius* were done away by the Soldiers; *Domitian* by *Stephanus*; *Commodus* by *Letus*, and *Eleëtus*, *Pertinax* and *Julianus* by the Prætorian Bands; *Caracalla* by *Macrinus* Command; *Macrinus*, *Heliogabalus*, *Alexander*, *Maximinus*, *Maximus*, and *Balbinus*, by the Soldiers; *Hostilianus* by *Gallus* and *Æmilianus*, and they by the Legions; *Valerianus* died in *Parthia*; *Florianus* was accessary to his own Death; *Aurelianus* murther'd by his own meniall Servants; *Gallienus*, *Quintillus*, *Tacitus* and *Probus*, by the Militia, &c.

Now, that which heightned the Spirits of the Soldiery to such Insolencies, was the Largenesses, and Encrease of Salary, that the Prætorian Bands us'd to receave from the new Emperour, which pernicious Kind of Bounty was begun first by *Claudius Cæsar*, and is now practised by the *Turk*: For every new *Sultan* useth to enhance the Pay of the Spahies and Janissaries, to so many Aspers more for fear of mutinieing, which in time may be the Bane of the *Ottoman* Empire, for such hath bin the Presumption allready of the sayed Janizaries

Janizaries of late that they have murther'd two of their Emperors in lesse than five and twenty Yeers.

In the *Roman* Empire the military Bands came to such an Exorbitancy of Power, that sometimes they did prostitute, and put the Empire to Sale by publique Outcry, as we read how *Sulpi-tianus* offered twenty Sestertiums (which are neer upon eight Pounds Sterling a-piece) to every Soldier; but *Julianus* rays'd the Market higher, and out-bad him; *Constantine* the Great (the first Christian Emperour, and a *Britain* born) found out the Policy to regulate, and lessen the Prætorian Bands, till he quite casheerd them, and at last reduc'd them to such a Number that they could do no hurt.

The Removal of the Imperial Court to *Constantinople*, though it prov'd advantagious to the Bishop of *Rome*, who had the City transferr'd unto him by way of a pious Donation from *Constantine* about his Departure from *Italy* to the *Levant*, as the Church Annals affirm, though some by Way of Drollery and Derogation to the Pope do say, that he hath the same Right to *Rome*, as *Venice* hath to the Dominion of the *Adriatique* Gulph, and that they are both inserted in one Patent, though that Patent cannot be found upon any Record; I say, though this Removall was an Advantage to the Bishop of *Rome*, yet it prov'd very prejudiciall to *Italy* in general, and to all the western Parts of the Empire; for many ruff-hewn northern Nations, that desir'd to come neerer the Sun, took the Advantage hereby to rush in, not only to *Italy*, and harass her so often, but like so many Swarms of Locusts they cover'd other Countreys (and some fear'd the like of the late *Swedish* Army, had they prosper'd in *Poland*.) The *Hunns* took such firm footing, that they gave the Name to *Hungary*; the *Longobards* to *Insubria*, and the Territorie about *Milan*; the *Goths* and *Vandales* piercing the  
very



very Heart of *France* overcame *Spain*, and denominated *Andaluzia*; infomuch, that the present King of *Spain* doth acknowledge himself to be *de la sangre de los Godos*, to descend from the *Goths*, whereby some would inferr, that he is a *German*, not only by Extraction from the House of *Austria*, but also from the *Gothique* Race, who were a Branch of the *Teutons* or *Germans*, taking the Word in the largest Sense; but more properly may *Germany* challenge the *French* and *English* to be her Children, the first coming from the Territories of *Franconia*, the other from the lower Circle of *Saxony*, wherof they bear the Names (*Saiffons*) among the *Welsh* and *Irish* to this Day.

But to proceed from the main Subject, the Eastern Part of the *Roman* Empire bore up many Ages after *Constantine* with some Lustre in the *Levant*, though the northwest Parts suffered many Eclipses, being so pittifully dilacerated and torn by the Fury of forein Nations. Now the chieft Cause therof may be ascrib'd to the Remotenes of the Emperours Person at *Constantinople*, who by Reason of so incommunicable a Distance could not reach a timely Hand to assist them with Auxiliaries; but about the Yeer eight hundred, a new kind of auspicious Star appear'd in the West, which was *Charlemain*, whom the *Germans* do claym to be their Compatriot, though they go a great Way back, and fetch him from *Pharamond*, or the first Race of the Kings who invaded *Gallia*, and by Way of Conquest, call'd it *France*.

*Charlemain* was the Grandchild of *Charles Martell*, who being Maire of the Place, or chief Steward, and Surintendent of the King's Court, gott his Son *Pepin* to be crown'd King of *France*, over the Head of *Chilperic* his Liege, Lord and Master; *Martel* giving out, that he did not follow the Ambition of his Heart, but the Inspirations of Heaven in this Act; so the *Scotts* Stories tells us, that the Family of the *Stewards* came to be Kings of *Scotland*,



by taking their Surnames from their Office; for as *Charles Martell* was in *France*, so the first of them was Steward of the Kings Court in *Scotland*.

*Pepin* though a little Man did great Exploits, for he cross'd the *Alpes*, and recover'd *Lombardy* where a Race of *Goths* had bin Kings above 200 Years, and at his Return to *France* conferr'd the Exarchatship, or Viceregency of *Italy* upon the Bishop of *Rome*.

*Charlemain* his Son did higher Atchiavements, for he clammer'd ore the *Pyreneans*, and debell'd the *Saracens* in *Spain*, discomfited the *Saxons*, and confirm'd the Conquest of *Italy*, so that he was solemnly saluted Emperour of the West at *Rome*, by the general Voice and wonderfull Acclamations of the Peeple, and so confirm'd by the Popes Benediction *Leo* the 4th on Christmas Day.

*Nicophorus* in *Constantinople* storm'd extremely at first ther shold be another Emperour besides himself, alledging that he was the sole *Roman* Emperour, and accordingly us'd to send his Exarques, or Viceroyes to govern *Italy*, but not knowing how to remedy it, he complied at last with *Charlemain*, who then kept his Court in *Germany*, where he died, and was buried at *Aquisgrave*, leaving *Ludovicus* his Son to succeed him, who partitioning the Empire afterwards twixt his three Sons did wonderfully enervat and enfeeble it, as a great River cut out into many Armes and Sluces, must needs grow weaker and shallower in her first Bed.

Now, though *Charlemain* was an extraordinary heroique, and a magnanimous gallant Man as his Actions tell us, yet his Children for four Descents together did strangely degenerat, and prov'd but poor spirited Men: His Son *Lewis* was call'd the Gentle for his soft Nature, *Charles* the Bald was of a baser Alloy than hee, *Lewis* the Stuttering inferior to both, *Charles* the Groffe the last Emperour and  
King

King of *France* died a most disastrous Death : After him the Empire was soly devolv'd to the *Germans*; *Charlemain* and his Dependants enjoy'd it 118 Yeers, then it came to the House of *Saxony* who held it 117 Yeers, the House of *Suevia* 110; other Families (whereof the House of the Count Palatin of the *Rhin*, and of *Nassaw* were sometimes) held the Empire 112 Yeers, untill it came to the House of *Austria*, who have held it longer than any one Family ever did.

Now, there is a remarkable Tradition how the House of *Austria* came to that Comble of Greatness, which they report thus :

*Rodulph* Earl of *Habsburg* returning home from hunting one Day overtook a Priest that had the Eucharist under his Habit, comming from visiting a sick Body, the Earl finding he was tyr'd alighted, and help'd the Priest a Horsback, and holding the Bridle in his Hand wayted upon him as a Lacquay till he came to the Church, and replac'd the Host upon the Altar, the Priest sang an extraordinary Masse (where the Earl devoutly attended all the while) and pronouncing the Benediction at the End, he cross'd the Earl, saying that for so signal, and a sweet Act of Piety, his House should be one of the greatest, and most glorious Families that ever was upon Earth; which prov'd tru, for a while after not only the *German Empire*, but the *East* and *West-Indies*, with all the Dominions of *Spain*, whereof some are the other side of the World, came to that Family.

*A fur-*

*A further Account of the Empire, and Election of the King of the Romans, in a Letter to a noble Personage.*

N.B. *As about the Year 1658. the Election of the King of the Romans was, at this Time, the Conversation of Europe; I therefore thought it might be acceptable to add to the Collection in this Volume, an Extract from the same curious Piece publish'd in that Period, which I have met with very few that have seen it, and is extremely scarce, and very instructive in the Affairs and State of the Empire at that Time.*

MY LORD,

THE Election of a King of the *Romans*, and consequently of a western Emperor, being now the grand Business in Agitation, and wheron the Eyes not only of all Christendom, but of other Princes (as well *Turk* as *Tartar*) are more earnestly fix'd than at other Times, because of so long a Vacancy, and a Kind of Demur; as also for the Opposition which *France*, with all her other Confederates, are like to make for secluding, and putting by the House of *Austria* (especially the young King of *Hungary*) wherin the *German* Empire hath continued above two hundred and odd Yeers.

And wheras, that after some loose extemporall Communications lately upon this Subject, your Lordshipp desired much to be inform'd of the present Estate and Interests of *Germany*, together with the Power and primitive Constitution of the Septemvirat, or the Colledge of Electors, with other Reflexes upon that Point; being returned home, I fell a rummaging my old Papers, and such

Remarques



Remarques, that I gathered when I was employ'd in some Parts of the Empire, and to comply with your Lordships Desires (which demand the Dilligence, and will always be an Honour to my Lord, &c.

YOUR LORDSHIPS, &c.

FOR a long Time ther was no certain or regular Way of Election of a King of the *Romans*, and the Custom was that the Emperor regnant us'd to nominate and recommend his Son, or neereſt Kinsman to the *German* Princes; but in the Yeer about 1000 after the Incarnation, *Rome* began to rayſe up her Creſt and bruisse, by re-demanding and challenging the Election of the Emperour, alledging, 'twas a Prerogative of hers *de jure antiquo*. The raking up of the Ashes of this old Right, was like to kindle a great Fyre on both Side of the Hills, for the *Italian* Princes stuck to her in the Claym; but *Otho* the Third, a prudent Prince found a Way to prevent it, by procuring a Cousin of his to be created Pope, by the Name of *Gregory* the Fifth, who being a *German* born, was so favorable and indulgent of his own Countrey, that he confirm'd the choosing of the western Emperour to the *German* Nation; but the *Romans*, with some *Italian* Princes stomaching heerat, they depos'd *Gregory*, and chose the Bishop of *Placentia* Pope in his Place, by the Title of *John* the Ninth: *Otho* took this in so great Indignation, that he suddenly rays'd an Imperial Army, clammer'd ore the *Alpes*, and made his Way by the Point of the Sword towards *Rome*, which open'd her Gates unto him without much Difficulty, so he seiz'd upon the Person of the new Pope, disoculated that counterſeit Light of the Church, by plucking out his Eyes, and replac'd *Gregory* the Fifth his Cousin in *Saint Peters* Chair with Triumph.

*Otho* being victoriously return'd to *Germany*, convoqued the chiefest Princes, and propos'd unto them the Multiplicity of Inconve-

\* A a a a

niencies,

niencies, Incumbrance, and Causes of Confusion, that the incertain, and unestablish'd Way of choosing an Emperour, and his immediat Successor, was subject unto, therefore he desir'd them to consider of a more regular Way of *Election*; so after many mature Deliberations, and Bandings of Opinions they fell upon settling a Septemvirat, viz. seven Princes, in whom a plenary Power should be invested, to elect an Emperour and his next Successor: herupon the Colledge of Electors was founded and constituted, but they must be all within the *German* Pale. Addressees were made to the Pope about this Business, who not only approv'd herof, but was ready to confirm the Act, provided that three of the sayed Electors were Ecclesiastiques; so the western Empire was made purely elective, giving Encouragements therby for Princes of Vertue and Merit to aspire.

Herupon the Archbishop of *Mentz*, the Archbishop of *Collen*, and the Archbishop of *Triers* were chosen for the three Spiritual; and for the Secular, the Palsgrave of the *Rhin*, the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marquis of *Brandenburg*; and, in Case their Suffrages were equal, the Duke of *Bohemia* (made about 80 Yeers after King) was chosen to have a Session among them, and whom he nam'd of those two that they had elected should be Emperour; so that the *Bohemian* might be call'd rather an Umpire than an Elector in these Transactions.

This great Act was solemnly voted and enroll'd in the Imperial Chamber, and som hundred of Yeers after 'twas ratified and fortified by the famous *Aurea Bulla*, the Golden Bull, who regulated Matters more punctually touching the Offices, the Precedencies, and other Particulars reflecting upon the sayed Electors. The Archbishop of *Mentz* was made High-Chancellor of *Germany*, he of *Colen* High-Chancellor of *Italy*, and he of *Triers* High-Chancellor of *France*; the Duke of *Saxony* was made *sacri imperii Archi-Marscallus*, Lord high Marshall of the sacred Empire; the Count Palatin

Palatin of the *Rhin sacri imperii Archidapifer*, Lord high Sewer of the sacred Empire; the Marquis of *Brandenburg* was made *sacri imperii Archicamerarius*, Lord high Chamberlain of the sacred Empire; the Duke (now King of *Bobemia*) was made *sacri imperii Archipincerna*, Lord Chief Butler of the sacred Empire, all which Offices are contracted in this tetrastique.

*Moguntinensis, Trierensis, Coloniensis,  
Quilibet Imperii fit Cancellarius horum;  
Et Palatinus Dapifer, Dux portitor ensis,  
Marchio Præpositus camerae, Pincerna Bobemus.*

T R A N S L A T E D.

*Mentz, Colen, Tryers*, let these Three  
Each of them an Arch-Chancellor bee,  
Duke, bear the Sword; Count, the first Dish take up;  
Marquis look to the Chamber, *Bobeme* the Cup.

So the secular Electors are compos'd of a King, a Duke, a Marquis, and a Count.

Upon an Occasion of a new Choise, these with the Ecclesiastiques were to be summon'd by the Archbishop of *Mentz*, to assemble within three Months Time, and to be guarded by the Country as they pass'd along, but their Retinue was not to exceed two hundred Horse, wherof ther shold be but Fifty armed.

Being conven'd, the Ecclesiastical Electors were to put their Hands only on their Breasts, the Secular Princes solemnly upon the Book, to choose a fit Imperial Head for Christendome, and they were to do this within the Compass of thirty Days, and not to



go out of *Frankford*, or the Place where they met in the Interim, and jury-like, to have no other Nutriment but Bread and Water after the Expiration of the sayd thirty Dayes.

The Choice being made by the Assembly of Electors, the new Emperour according to the Tenure of the Golden Bull, the Grand Charter of the Empire (so call'd, because 'twas confirm'd by the Pope) is saluted by the Title of the King of the *Romans*, and not Emperour till he be crown'd with the golden Crown representing *Rome*, with a Silver Crown representing *Germany*, and with an Iron Crown representing *Lombardy*, which Ceremony useth to be perform'd at *Aquisgrave* for all three Places, but he is not to be call'd *Augustus* till confirm'd by the Pope.

At the first Day of the Emperours Inauguration, the foresaid Electors were to give their personal Attendance in the Emperours Court, but now they are dispens'd withall to do it by proxy.

Before the Palace Gate ther us'd to stand a Heap of Oats to the Breast of a Horse, then comes the Duke of *Saxony* mounted, having in his Hand a Sylver Wand, and a Sylver Measure stood by, which was to weigh two hundred Marks; he fills the Measure, sticking his Wand afterwards in the Remainder, and so goes to attend the Emperour; the three Archbishops say Grace; the Marquis of *Brandenburg* comes also on Horsback with a Sylver Bason of Water, of the Value of twelve Marks, and a clean Towel, which being alighted he holds to the Emperour; then comes the Count Palatin of the *Rhin* a Horsback also, and being alighted, he carries four Dishes of Meat, every Dish of the Value of three Marks; then the King of *Bohemia* comes with a Napkin on his Arm, with a cover'd Cup of twelve Marks which he presents.

Touch-

Touching the Precedence of the Electors among themselves one may judge of it by the Manner of their Session with the Emperour, when he sits in Majesty, which is thus.

The Archbishop of *Tryers*, High-chancellor of *France*, sits over against the Emperour; the Archbishop of *Moguntia* or *Mentz*, as High-Chancellor of *Germany*, sits on the right Hand of the Emperour; the Archbishop of *Collen*, now call'd *Cologn* and an Elector on the Left-hand; the King of *Bobemia* hath his Seat on the Right-hand of the Archbishop of *Mentz*, and next him the Count Palatin of the *Rbyn*; the Duke of *Saxony* sits on the Left-hand of the Archbishop of *Collen*, and by him the Marquis of *Brandenburgh*.

Moreover, when they us'd to go in Procession with the Emperour, 'twas ordain'd in the *Golden Bull*, that the Archbishop of *Tryers* shold go before his Imperial Majesty, and neer him on both Sides one of the Ecclesiastical Electors; the King of *Bobemia* was to go alone after the Archbishops; and after him the Elector of *Saxony*, with the naked Sword of the Empire on his Hand, having on his Right-hand the Count Palatin of the *Rbyn*, carrying the *Golden Apple*, which denotes the World to be under the *Roman* Empire; and on the Left-hand of the Duke of *Saxony*, the Marquis of *Brandenburgh* was to march with a Scepter in his Hand; then followed the Emperour himself.

By what hath bin spoken you may judge who had the Priority of Place, the Count *Palatin* of the *Rbyn*, or the Duke of *Saxony*, a Contest that hath gravell'd many.

*Of the Title of EMPEROR, &c.*

Concerning the Character and Title of Emperour, it is of a younger Date than that of King; and among the *Romans*, it was in the Beginning given to him who was Commander in chief of the Militia, nor was it neer of such a Transcendency then as now it is; he was at first but *tutoye*; he was but *Thou'd* when he was spoken unto; but afterwards in regard, he had the Prerogative to conferr Honors and Offices, to grant Pardons, and Patents of Grace, with other obliging Motives, the Courtiers, especially the Churchmen began to magnifie, or rather deifie him with sublime Attributes, as we read in *Symmachus's* Epistles to *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, wherein his Stile unto them is, *Vestra eternitas, vestrum numen, vestra perennitas, vestra clementia*, &c. then he began to be call'd, *Divus Imperator*; but touching the Title of *Majestas*, which was given *ab augendo Imperium* (as was touch'd before) or as some wold have it, *a majori statu*; it is an Attribute of no great Antiquity, for it is not found among the old Authors, and it came not till *Henry* the Second's Time to *France*, who is not us'd to be backward in assuming, and applying Title of Greatness to herself.

But concerning the Dignity of Emperour, as heretofore, so is he still accounted the *Prime Potentat*, and Prince *Paramount* among Christians, and not only among them, but the *Turk* next himself; accounts the *German* Emperour the greatest Monark upon Earth, and esteems him accordingly; which appeer'd in the Person of *David Ungnadius*, who being not an Age since Ambassador in *Constantinople* for the Christian Emperour, and coming for Audience to the *Duana* in the Seraglio; the *Persian* Ambassador had come before,



fore, and got the Chair, but *Ungniadius* offering to go away, there was an upper Chair put for him.

Another Time, upon the Celebration of *Mabomet* the Third's Circumfion, which laſted forty Daies and Nights, there being then in *Conſtantinople* the Legats of the greateſt Monarks upon Earth; yet hee who was Ambaſſador at that Time for the Emperour *Rodolphus* the Second, had alwayes the firſt Place.

Some Civilians exalt the Emperour with divers tranſcendent Titles, whereof one is, *Dominus totius terræ*, the Lord of the whole Earth; that *Cæſar* is *Proximus Deo*; *Cæſar* is next to God Almighty; but though the Emperour be accounted the ſole Supereminent Prince in Chriſtendom, yet there have bin other Kings who aſſum'd that Title beſides him; ſome of the Kings of *Spain* have bin call'd, *Imperatores Hæſperiæ*; King *Edgar*, who was row'd upon the River of *Dee* by four Kings, whereof the *Scot* was one, had his Title, which appears upon good Record, by this bouncing Character.

*Ego Edgarus Altonantis Dei largiſſua clementia Anglorum Baſileus omniumque Regum Inſularumque, Oceanique Britanniam circumjacentis, Cunctarumque Nationem quæ infra eam includuntur Imperator, & Dominus*; he was call'd alſo, *Albionis Imperator*.

# T R A N S L A T E D.

I *Edgar*, by the bountifull Clemency of the high-thundring God, King of the *Engliſh*, Emperour, and Lord of all the Kings, Iſlands, and Seas, circumjacent to *Britain*, and of all the Nations included therein; he was ſtil'd in another Place, Emperour of *Albion*.

Moreover,

Moreover, the Realm of *England* was declared an Empire, by Act of Parlement, *octavo Henrici octavi*, and in divers other Acts, the Crown of *England* is call'd the Imperiall Crown, and the City of *London* the Imperiall Chamber.

Now touching the Respects that other Christian Kings owe the Emperour, they acknowledge no other but that of Precedence only, though *Henry* the Second of *England* in his Letter (which stands upon Record) to *Frederique Barbarossa*, and *Richard* the First, in his to *Henry* the 6th, Emperour, seem to acknowledge a Kind of Subordination, by Way of Complement; but *Edward* the Third of *England* would not kisse the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria's* Feet, at their Enterview in *Colen*; and the Reason he alledg'd was, because he was *Rex inunctus habens vitam & membrum in potestate sua*, &c. because he was anointed King, having Life and Limb in his Power, &c. which *Edward*, as the *German Annals* attest, *Ab Electoribus fuit vocatus, & nominatus Vicarius Imperii*, he was call'd, and nominated Vicar of the Empire; and as some have it, was offer'd to be Emperour, in regard of his Acquests, and glorious Exploits in *France*, whence he brought the *Three Flower de Lucas* upon his Sword, after the *French* had sent him that geering Answer, that, *La Couronne de France n'est pas liee a la quenoville*; that the Crown of *France* was not tied to a Distaff.

Add hereunto, that the Emperour cannot be call'd so pure, and independent a Monark as some other Kings; for besides that, he is but Tenant for Life, and govern'd by Diets, which are Imperial Parlements; the Electors may be said to be his Associates, and to have a Share in the Government; nay, the Emperour, by the ancient Customs of the Empire may be brought to answer in *Causis pro quibus impetitus fuerit*, sayeth the Bull, before the Count Palatin of the *Rhin*, but he can passe no Judement unlessse the Emperour himself be present in *Imperiali curia*.

The

There wants no Examples, that some Emperours have bin depos'd for their mal-administration, an Instance shall be made in *Wenceslaus*, in the Yeer 1400. who was formally degraded by the Archbishop of *Mentz*, upon a publique Theater in the Plaines of *Brubach* neer the River of *Rhin* by a judicial Sentence, which I thought worthy the inserting here.

*Wee John, Archbishop of Moguntia, Prince, Elector, and Arch-chancellor of the German Nation, in the Name of other Princes, Electors, Dukes, Landgraves, Counts, and other Lords, Barons, and Potentates of the Empire, in regard of divers dammageable interests, and for the special Importance of all the Empire, we do depose, and deprive by common Consent, and mature Deliberation, Wenceslaus as negligent, unprofitable, and unworthy of the Roman Empire; we degrade him of all the Dignities, and of all the Honors which were due to him from the Empire; and we publish him in the Presence of all the Princes, Barons, and Potentates of the Empire for a prophane Person, and unworthy of such an Honor and Dignity; enjoyning every one of what Quality or Condition soever he bee, not to yeeld him Obedience as Emperour, prohibiting every one to pay him any Kind of Tribut, Fief, or Forfeiture, either by Right or by Covenant, or any Office appertaining to the Empire; nay, we will, that those Perquisits be reserv'd untill God doth give us the Grace to elect an Emperour, that may be for the Benefit of the whole Empire and the Christian Commonweale. And it is well known how often he hath bin admonish'd by the Princes, Electors, both in publique and privat, and particularly by ev'ry one of our Order, that he wold leave his unworthy Deportments, and carry himself as his Dignity requir'd.*

Concerning the King of the *Romans*, it is but a modern Title, peculiar to him who is declar'd Heir apparent, or the design'd Successour of the Empire; but at first, he who was so chosen, was

C c c c

called



called *Cæsar*; and it was the Emperour *Adrian* who first call'd *Ælius Verus* by that Title; insomuch, that the Family of *Julius Cæsar* being extinct in the Person of *Domitius Nero*, who was the Sixt in Descent (as afore was told) the Name *Cæsar* ceas'd to be us'd as the Name of a Family or Blood, but it was us'd as a Name meer honorary, and Precedent to the Empire; afterwards the design'd Successor to the Empire was call'd *Despote*; after that, he was call'd King of *Italy*, then King of *Germany*; and lastly, King of the *Romans*, *Römischer König* in *High Dutch*; and the Emperour himself was called *Cæsar Keyser*, in *Dutch*, which Appellation continueth to this Day; and it was *Charles* the 5th who introduc'd the Title of King of the *Romans*, who since is acknowledg'd the immediat and unquestionable apparent Heir, and to succeed in the Empire, whether it be by Resignation, by Deprivation or Death, being in *proximo fastigio collocatus* to the Emperour; nay, some Civilians hold, that the King of the *Romans* may make Edicts without the regnant Emperour, being bound only as they say, *Majestatem imperialem comiter observare*, making him hereby to owe a Duty of Reverence, but not of Superiority to the *Keyser* or Emperour.

*Note*, There are four Archbishopricks in the Empire, viz. *MAGDINBURGH*, *SALTSBURGH*, *BESANSON*, and *BREME*, which last, the Kings of *Denmark* had a long Time.

The Two following LETTERS not coming to Hand soon enough, could not be placed in their proper Order.

*From ROBERT Earl of Essex, who was beheaded in the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH, to the Earl of Southampton, when he was under Sentence of Death.*

My LORD,

AS neither Nature nor Custom ever made me a Man of Compliments, so now I shall have less Will than heretofore to use such Ceremonies, when I have left to *Martba* to be *solicita circa multa*, and believe with *Mary* that *unum sufficit*. But it is no Compliment or Ceremony, but a real and necessary Duty that one Friend owes to another in Absence, and especially at their Leave-taking; when, in Man's Reason, many Accidents may keep them long divided, or perhaps bar their Meeting, till they meet again in another World: For then shall I think that my Friend, whose Honour, whose Person, and whose Fortune is dearer unto me, shall prosper and be happy wheresoever he goeth, and whatsoever he taketh in Hand, when he is in Favour of that God, under whose Protection there is only Safety, and in whose Service there is only true Happiness to be found.

What I think of your natural Gifts, or your Abilities, in this Age, or in this State, to give Glory to God, and to win Honour to yourself, if you employ the Talents you have received to the best Use, I will not now tell you; it sufficeth, that when I was farthest of all Times from dissembling, I spoke freely, and had Witnesses enough. But these Things only I will put your Lordship in mind of: *First*, That you have nothing which you have not received: *Secondly*,

\* U u u

That



That you possess them, not as a Lord over them, but an Accomptant for them: *Thirdly*, If you employ them to serve this World, or your own worldly Delights, which the Prince of this World will seek to entertain you with, it is Ingratitude, it is Injustice, yea, it is perfidious Treachery. For what would you think of such a Servant of yours, that should convert your Goods committed to his Charge to the Advantage or Service of your greatest Enemies? And what do you do less than this with God; since you have all from Him, and know that the World, and the Prince thereof, are at continual Enmity with Him? If ever therefore the Admonition of your truest Friend shall be heard by you, or if your Country, which you may serve in so great and so many Things, be dearer unto you; your God, whom you must, if you deal truly with yourself, acknowledge to be Powerful over all, and Just in all, should be feared by you; yea, if you be dearer to yourself, and preserve an everlasting Happiness before a pleasant Dream, which you must shortly awake out of. Then repent in the Bitterness of your Soul, if any of these Things be regarded by you; then, I say, call yourself to Account for what is past, cancel all Leagues you have made without the Warrant of a religious Conscience, make a resolute Covenant with your God, to serve Him with all your natural and spiritual, inward and outward Gifts and Abilities; and then He that is faithful and cannot lie, has promised to honour them that honour Him: He will give you the inward peace of Soul, and true Joy of Heart, which till you have you shall never rest, and which when you have you can never be shaken, and which you can never attain to by any other Way than this that I have shewed unto you. I know your Lordship, when you read this, may say unto yourself, and object to me, this is but a Vapour of Melancholy, the Style of a Prisoner, and that I was far enough from it when I lived in the World, as you do now, and may be so again when my Fetters are taken from me. I answer, Though your Lordship should think so, yet I cannot distrust that Goodness of my God, that his Mercy will fail me, or his Grace forsake me. I have so deeply engaged myself, as



I should be one of the miserablest Apostates that ever was; I have so avowed my Profession, and called so many from Time to Time to witness it, and to be Watchmen over me, as I should be the hollowest Hypocrite that ever lived, and the most detested Atheist that ever was born. But though I should perish in my own Sin, or draw upon myself mine own Condemnation, should not you take hold of the Grace and Mercy of God that is offered to you, and make your Profit by my wretched and fearful Example? I was longer a Slave and Servant to the World, and the Corruption of it, than you have been, and therefore could hardly be drawn from it. I had many Callings, and answered some of them, thinking a soft Pace fast enough to come to Christ, and myself forward enough when I saw the End of my Journey, though I arrived not at it; and therefore I have been, by God's Providence, violently pulled, haled, and dragged to the Marriage Feast, as all the World have seen. It was Just with God to afflict me in this World, that He might give me Joy in another. I had too much Knowledge while I performed so little Obedience, and was therefore to be beaten with double Stripes. God grant your Lordship may quickly feel the Comfort I now enjoy in my unfeigned Conversion, but that you may never feel the Torment I have suffered for my long delaying it. I had none but Deceivers to call upon me; to whom I said, if my Ambition could have entered into their narrowest Breasts, they would not have been so humble; or if my Delights had been once tasted by them, they would not have been so precise. But your Lordship hath One to call upon you that knoweth what it is you now enjoy, and what the greatest Fruit and End is of all Contentment that this World can afford. Think therefore, dear Earl, that I have staked and buoyed all the Ways of Pleasure unto you, and left them as Sea Marks for you to keep the Channel of religious Virtue. For shut your Eyes never so long, they must be open at the last; and then you must say with me, There is no Peace to the Ungodly.

I will make a Covenant with my Soul not to suffer my Eyes to sleep in the Night, or my Thoughts to attend the first Business of the Day, till I have prayed my God that your Lordship may believe, and make Profit of this my plain and faithful Admonition; and then I know your Country and Friends shall be happy in you, and all you take in Hand, which shall be an unspeakable Comfort to

*Your Lordship's Cousin,*

*And true Friend,*

*Whom no worldly Cause can divide from you.*

ROBERT ESSEX.

*A Copy of the Earl of Essex his LETTER to the  
Earl of Rutland about his Travel.*

My LORD,

I Hold it for a Principle in the Course of Intelligences of State, not to discourage Men of mean Sufficiency from writing to me, though I had at the same Time very able Advertises. For either they sent me some Matter which the others had omitted, or made it clearer by delivering the Circumstances; or if they added nothing, yet they confirmed that, which coming single I might have the more doubted. This Rule I have hitherto prescribed to others, and now give it to myself. Your Lordship hath many Friends, who have more Leisure to think, and more Sufficiency to counsel than myself;



myself; yet doth my Love to you dedicate these first free Hours, to study of you and your intended Course. In which Study if I find out nothing but that which you have from others, yet I shall perhaps confirm the Opinion of wiser Men than myself. Your Lordship's Purpose is to travel, and your Study must be, what Use to make of your Travel. The Question is ordinary, and there is to it an ordinary Answer; that is, That your Lordship shall see the Beauties of many Cities, know the Manners of the People of many Countries, and learn the Languages of divers Nations. Some of these Things may serve for Ornament, and all of them for Delight. But your Lordship must look further than these; for the greatest Ornament is the inward Beauty of the Mind: And when you have known as great Variety of Delight as this World can afford, you will confess that the chiefest Delight is, *sentire te indies fieri meliorem*; to feel that you do every Day enworthy (if I may so speak) and endear yourself. Therefore your Lordship's End and Scope should be that which in Moral Philosophy we call *Cultura Animi*, the Tilling and Manuring of your own Mind. The Gifts or Excellencies of the Mind are the same that those are of the Body; Beauty, Health, and Strength. Beauty of the Mind is shewed in grateful and acceptable Forms and Sweetness of Behaviour; and they that have that Gift, send them to whom they deny any Thing, better contented away than Men of contrary Disposition do those to whom they grant. Health consisteth in an unremoveable Constancy and Freedom from Passions, which are indeed the Sickneses of the Mind. Strength of the Mind is that active Power which makes us perform good Things, and great Things, as well as Health; and even Temper of the Mind keeps us from those that are evil and base. All these three are to be sought for, though the greatest Part of Men have none of these. Some have one, and lack the other two; a few attain to have two of them, and lack the third; and almost none have all.

The first Way to attain excellent Form and Behaviour, is to make the Mind itself excellent. For Behaviour is but a Garment, and it is  
easy



easy to make a comely Garment for a Body that is of itself well proportioned; whereas a deformed Body can never be so helped by Taylors Art, but that the Counterfeitings will appear. And in the Form of our Minds it is a true Rule, that a Man may mend his Faults with as little Labour as he may cover them. The second Way is by Imitation; and to that End good Choice is to be made of those with whom you converse: Therefore your Lordship should affect their Companies whom you find to be worthiest, and not partially think them worthy whom you affect. To attain to Health of Mind, we must use the same Means which we do for the Health of our Bodies; that is, to make Observation what Diseases we are aptest to fall into, and to provide against them. For Physic hath not more Medicines against the Diseases of the Body, than Reason hath Preservations against the Passions of the Mind.

The Stoics were of Opinion, that there was no Way to attain to this even Temper of Mind, but to be senseless; and so they part with Good to ransom themselves from Evil. But not only Divinity, but even Philosophy her Handmaid, doth condemn our Want of Care and Industry, if we do not win very much upon ourselves. To prove which, I will only use one Instance. There is nothing in Nature more general nor more strong than the Fear of Death; and there is nothing to a natural Man more impossible than to resolve against Death. But both Martyrs for Religion, Heathens for Glory; some for Love of their Country, others for Affection to one special Person, have encountered Death without Fear, and suffered it without Shew of Alteration. And therefore, if Man have conquered Passion's chiefest and strongest Fortrefs, it is Lack of Understanding in him if he get not an absolute Victory. To set down Ways how a Man should attain to that active Power, which in this Place I call Strength of Mind, is much harder than to give Rules in either of the other two. For Behaviour and good Forms may be gotten by Education, and Health and even Temper by Observation. But if there be not in Nature some Aptness to this active Strength, it can never be obtained by any Industry. For the Vir-

tues

ties which are proper unto it are Liberality and Magnificence, and Fortitude or Magnanimity. And some are by Nature so covetous and cowardly, that it is as vain to seek to inflame or enlarge their Minds, as to go about to plow the Rocks. But while these active Virtues are but budding, they must be ripened by Clearness of Judgment, and Custom of Well-doing. Clearness of Judgment makes Men liberal; for it teacheth Men to esteem the Goods of Fortune, not for themselves, for so they are but Jaiors to them; but for their Use, and so they are Lords over them: And so it makes us know that it is—*beatius dare quam accipere*; the one being a Badge of Sovereignty, the other of Subjection. Also it leads us to Fortitude; for it teaches us, that we should not too much prize Life, which we cannot keep, nor fear Death, which we cannot shun: That he that dies nobly doth live for ever, and he that lives in Fear doth die continually: That Pain and Danger are made great only by Opinion, and that, in Truth, nothing is fearful but Fear itself: That Custom makes the Thing used as it were natural to the User. I shall not need Proof in these two Things, since we see by Experience it holds true in all Things. But yet those that do give with Judgment, are not only encouraged to be liberal by the Return of Thankfulness from those to whom they give, but do find in the very Exercise of that Virtue a Delight to do Good. And if Custom be strong to confirm any one Virtue more than another, it is the Virtue of Fortitude; for it makes us triumph over Fear which we have conquered, and anew to challenge Danger which we have already happily conquered, and to hold more dear the Reputation and Honour which we have encreased. I have hitherto set down what Desire or what Wish I would have your Lordship to take into your Mind; that is, to make yourself an excellent Man; and what are the general Helps which all Men may use which have the same Desire. I will now move your Lordship to consider what Helps your Travel may give you. First, When you see infinite Variety of Behaviours and Manners of Men, you may chuse and imitate the best. When you see new Delights which you never knew, and  
have



have Passions stirred in you which you never felt; you shall both know what Diseases your Mind is aptest to fall into, and what the Things are that breed that Disease. When you come into Armies, or Places where you see any Thing of Wars, as I would wish you see them before you return, you shall both confirm your natural Courage, and be made more fit for true Fortitude, which is given to no Man by Nature, but must grow out of the Discourse of Reason. And Lastly, In your Travel you shall have great Helps to attain to Knowledge, which is not only the excellentest Thing in Man, but also in Man who would be esteemed for Manners and Behaviour. Your Lordship must not be caught with Novelty, which is pleasing to young Men; nor infected with Custom, which makes us keep our own ill Graces, and participate of those we see every Day; nor given to Affectation, the general Fault of most of our *English* Travellers, which is both displeasing and ridiculous. In discovering of your Passions, and meeting with them, give not Way to yourself, nor dispence with yourself in little Things, resolving to conquer yourself in great Things. For the same Streams which may be stopped by one Man's Hand at the Spring-Head, may drown whole Armies of Men when they have run long. In your being at the Wars, think it better at the first to do a great deal too much, than any thing too little; for a young Man's, especially a Stranger's first Actions are looked upon; and Reputation once gotten, is easily kept, but an ill Impression conceived at the first is not quickly removed.

The last Thing which I am to speak of, but the first that you are to seek, is Knowledge. To praise Knowledge, or to persuade your Lordship to the Love of it, I shall not need to use many Words. I will only remember, where it is wanting, that Man is void of all Good. Without it there can be no Fortitude; for all other Kind of Daring comes of Fury, and Fury is a Passion, and Passions ever turn into their Contraries; and therefore the most furious Men, when their first Blaze is spent, are commonly most fearful. Without it there can be no Liberality; for giving is but Want of Audacity to deny,



deny, or of Discretion to prize. Without it there can be no Justice; for giving to one Man that which is his own, is but Chance, or Want of a Corrupter or Seducer. Without it there can be no Constancy or Patience; for Suffering is but Dulness or Senselessness. Without it there can be no Temperance; for we shall restrain ourselves from Good as well as from Evil; for they that cannot discern, cannot elect or chuse. Nay, without it there can be no true Religion; all other Devotions being but blind Zeal, which is as strong in Heresy as in Truth. To reckon up all the Ways of Knowledge, and to shew the Ways to obtain to every Sort, is a Work too great for me to undertake at any Time, and too long to discourse of at this. Therefore I will only speak of such Knowledge as your Lordship should have Desire to seek, and have Helps to compass. I forbear also to treat of divine Knowledge, which must direct your Faith, both because I find my own Insufficiency, and also because I hope your Lordship doth still nourish the Seeds of Religion, which, during your Education at *Cambridge*, were sown in you. I will only say this, that as the irresolute Man can never perform any Action well, so he that is not resolved in Soul and Conscience, can never be well resolved in any Thing else. But that civil Knowledge which will make you live to do well by yourself, and to do Good unto others, must be fought by Study, by Conference, and by Observation. Before I persuade your Lordship to study, I must look to answer an Argument, drawn from the Example of the Nobility in all Places almost in the World, which now is utterly unlearned, if it be not some very few; and the Authority of an *English* Proverb, made in Despite of Learning, "That the greatest Clerks are not commonly the wisest Men."

To the First I answer, that this Want of Learning hath been in Countries ruined by civil Wars, or in States corrupted through Wealth, and too great Length of Peace. In the one Sort Mens Wills were employed to their own necessary Defence, in the other drowned in studying the Arts of Luxury; but in all flourishing States, Learning hath ever flourished. If it seem strange that I ac-

count no State flourishing but that which neither hath Civil Wars nor too long Peace; I answer, that politic Bodies are like our natural Bodies, and must as well have some Exercise to spend their ill Humours, as they must be kept from too violent or too continual Exercises, which spend their best Spirits. The Proverb I take to be made in that Age when the Nobility of *England* brought up their Sons as they enter their Whelps, and thought them wise enough if they could chase their Deer; and I answer it by a notable Proverb, made by a wise Man, — *Scientia neminem habet Inimicum præter Ignorantem*; — “ Knowledge hath no Enemy but him that knoweth nothing.” All Men that live well, live by Rule or by Example. And in Book-Learning your Lordship shall find, in what Course soever you propound to yourself, Rules prescribed by the wisest Men, and Examples left by the worthiest that have lived before us. Therefore Knowledge is to be sought by your private Study; and Opportunity you shall have to study, if you do not too often remove from Place to Place, but stay some Time, and reside in the best. In the Course of your Study, and Choice of your Books, you must first seek to have the Grounds of Learning, which are the liberal Arts; for without them you shall neither gather other Knowledge easily, nor make Use of that which you have. And then use Studies of Delight, but sometimes for Recreation; and neither drown yourself in them, nor omit any Studies whereof you are to have continual Use. Above all other Books be conversant in Histories; for they will best instruct you in Matters Moral, Politic, and Military; by which, and in which, you must ripen and settle your Judgment. In which Study you are to seek out Two Things: The First, to conceive and understand; The Second, to lay up or remember; for as the Philosopher said, — *Discere est tantum recorderi*. To help you to conceive, you may do well in those Things in which you are but raw yourself, to read with somebody that may give you Help; and to that End, you must either carry over with you some good general Scholar, or make some Abode in the Universities Abroad, where you have the Professors in every Art. To help you



to remember, you must use Writing or Meditation, or both: By Writing, I mean the making of Notes or Abridgments of that which you would remember. I make Conference the second Help to Knowledge in Order, though I have found it the first and greatest in Profiting: And I have so placed them, because he that hath not studied, knows not what to doubt, nor what to ask. But when the little I had learned taught me to find my own Emptiness, I profited more by some excellent Man in half a Day's Conference, than by myself in a Month's Study. To profit much by Conference, you must first choose to confer with excellent Men, I mean excellent in that you desire to know. Next with many; for excellent Men will be of sundry and contrary Opinions, and every one will make his own probable. So as if you hear but one, you shall know in all Questions but one Opinion; whereas by hearing many, you shall, by seeing the Reason of the one confute the Reason of the other, be able to judge of the Truth. Besides, there is no Man that is excellent in all Things, but every great Scholar is excellent in some one; so as both your Wit shall be whetted by conversing with many great Wits, and you shall have the Cream or Quintessence of every one of these. In Conference, be neither superstitious in believing all you hear (what Opinion soever you have of the Man that delivers it) nor too desirous to contradict. For of the first grows a Facility to be led into all Kind of Error; since you shall ever think, that he that knows all you know, and somewhat more, hath infinite Knowledge, because you cannot sound nor measure it. Of the second, grows such a carping Humour, as you shall, without Reason, censure all Men, and want Reason to censure yourself. I do conclude this Point of Conference with this Advice, that your Lordship should rather go a hundred Miles out of your Way to speak with a wise Man, than five to see a fair Town.

The Third Way to obtain Knowledge is Observation. I say Observation, and not long Life, or seeing much; because, as he that rides a great Way often, and takes no Note or Marks to direct



him if he come the same Way again, or to make him know where he is if he come near to it, shall never prove a good Guide; so he that lives long, sees much, and observes nothing, shall never prove a wise Man. The Use of Observation is in noting the Coherents of Causes and Effects, Counsels and Successes, and the Proportion of Likeness between Nature and Nature, Fortune and Fortune, Action and Action, State and State, Time past and Time present. The Philosopher did think that all Knowledge did so much depend upon the Knowledge of Causes, that he said, — *Id demum sciemus cujus Causam sciemus*, — “We only know that whereof we know the Cause.” And therefore a private Man cannot prove so great a Soldier as he that commands an Army, nor so great a Politician as he that rules a State, or is a chief Minister of State; because the one sees only the Events, and knows not the Cause; the other makes the Cause that governs the Events. The Observation of Proportion or Likeness between one Person or Thing and another, makes nothing without Example, no nothing new. And although *Exempla illustant non probant*, — “Examples may make Things plain that are proved, but prove not themselves;” yet when Circumstances agree, and Proportion is kept, that which is probable in one Case is probable in a thousand; and that which is Reason once is Reason for ever.

Your Lordship now sees that the Ends of Study, Conference, and Observation, is Knowledge; you must know also, that the true End of Knowledge is Clearness and Strength of Judgment, and not Ostentation and Ability to discourse; which I do the rather chuse to put your Lordship in mind of, because the most of the Noblemen and Gentlemen of our Time have no other Use of their Learning, but in Table-Talk; and the Reason is, because they before setting down That their Journey's End, as they attain to it they rest, and travel not so far as they should. But God knows, they have got little that have only this Discourfing Gift. For though, like empty Casks, they sound loud when a Man knocks upon their Outside; yet if you pierce into them, you shall find that they are full of nothing but Wind. This Rule holds, not only in Knowledge, or in  
the

the Virtue of Prudence, but in all other Virtues. That is, that we should both seek and love Virtue for itself, and not for Praise. For as one says well,—*Turpe est Proco Anfillam sollicitare; est autem Virtutis Anfilla Laus*:—"It is a Shame for him that woos the Mistress to court the Maid; and Praise is but the Handmaid of Virtue."

I will here cut off; for I find I have both exceeded the convenient Length of a Letter, and come short of such a Discourse as this Subject doth deserve. Your Lordship perhaps may find in this Paper many Things superfluous, most Things imperfect and lame, and all without Method, and confused. But what you find superfluous, cast that away; it is but my Labour lost: What you find lame, I will, as well as I can, supply upon a second Advise, if you call me to Account: What Confusion you find in my Order and Method, is not only my Fault, whose Mind is confounded with too much Business; but the Fault of the Season: This being written in Christmas, in which Confusion and Disorder have, by Tradition, not only been winked at but warranted. If there be but any one Thing which your Lordship makes use of, I think my Pains well bestowed in all: And how weak soever my Counsels be, my Wishes shall be as strong as any Man's for your Lordship's Happiness. And so I rest, &c.

P. S. My Lord, if any curious Scholar, happening to see this Discourse, shall quarrel with my Allusion of the Gifts of the Mind, because he finds it not perhaps in his Book; and says, that Health and constant Temper of Mind, is a Kind of Strength, and so I have offended against the Rule that, *Membra dividenda non deberent confundi*; I answer him, that the Qualities of Wealth and Strength, as I have set them down, are not only unlike, but mere contrary, for the one omits in the Mind, and restrains it; the other raises and enlarges it.

*A remarkable Stratagem of a former Dutcheſs of Bavaria, to ſave and to gain the Duke her Husband's Liberty.*

THE Emperor *Conradus* having claſhed with *Guelphus* Duke of *Bavaria*, he bore up a good while againſt him; at laſt the Emperor, recruiting his Army with *Italian* Auxiliaries, ſhut up the Duke in *Winsberga*, and beleagred him ſo cloſe that he was ready to ſtarve; and the Emperor having been provoked ſo far that he vowed to put all to Fire and Sword; the Dutcheſs, being a comely courageous Lady, went through the Throng of the Army into the Emperor's Tent, and made ſuch a flexanimous Speech which ſo much melted the Emperor, that he publiſhed a Proclamation, that for her Sake all the Women of *Winsberga* ſhould have Conduct to depart and carry away upon their Backs as much of their moſt precious Wealth as they could bear. Hereupon the Dutcheſs took the Duke upon her Back; and every Wife, by her Example, her Husband; Maids and unmarried Women took up their Brothers, and Kindred; and ſo all marched out. The Emperor being much taken with this witty Piece of Humanity, publiſhed a general Act of Amneſtia, and ſo the Duke was reintegrated into his Favour. This memorable Story I couched once into Verſe, being a Task impoſed upon me, and the Epigram runs thus.

*Tempore quo Bavarum ſuperat Roma Guelphum,  
Seria feſtivo Res fuit acta joco;  
Conradus victor Winsbergam obſeſſerat Urbem,  
Hinc fame, Deditio facta, premente, fuit;*

*Matribus*



*Matribus at miserans Bavaris, sponsæq; Guelphi,  
Indupator iis tale Diploma dedit;  
Quælibet ut Mulier ruto cum Rebus abiret  
Quas humeris posset sustinuisse suis.  
Cum reliquis Comitissa novo Diplomate nixa  
Inde viros portant, pondera grata, suos.  
Pendebant collo nati natæq; lacertis  
Sic abiit licita Fæmina Virq; fugâ;  
Hac delectatus Cæsar pietate, pepercit  
Omnibus, atq; novum cum Duce fædus init.*

*An Original LETTER of Lord Hastings, who  
was beheaded by Richard III. for espousing the Cause  
of Jane Shore, to Richard Butler, Esq; in Behalf of  
his Servant, Thomas Myles; signed with his own  
Hand.*

*Trusty and rytbe wel beloved Friend,*

**I** Comende me to you, and praye you, infomuch as I am informed ye bend youre Labors to vexe a Servant of myne, *Thomas Myles*, of *Everden*, whom I love wel, withoute Cawse reasonable; that ye vouchsaf, because of this my Prayer, to have hym the rather in your Favor, as he be not so vexed hereafter, but that he may sit in Rest; for I am loth that any of my Servantes shoulde have Cawse to compleine upon you, or I to have any Thyng againste you. Wreten at *London*, the 17th Day of *March*.

To my wel beloved Friend,  
*Rycharde Butler*, Squiere.

*Your Friend,*

HASTYNGS.

*The End of the First Volume.*

**T**HE Second Volume contains some curious Antiquities, Letters, &c. in this Period; and through the succeeding Reigns, to the present Times: With some Originals of *Queen Ann*, Dutcheſs of *Marlborough*, Lord *Bolingbroke*, Sir *Robert Walpole*, &c. To which are added, Several remarkable Originals, and ſcarce Pieces, Poetry, &c. Religious, Political, and Moral.



# CONTENTS of the FIRST VOLUME.

<b>A</b> Letter concerning the Expedition of <i>Pen</i> and <i>Venables</i> against the Island of <i>Hispaniola</i> , in the Protectorship of <i>Oliver Cromwell</i>	p. 1
A Letter, as supposed, from Sir <i>Thomas Bodley</i> to King <i>James I.</i>	22
From Sir <i>Thomas Lake</i> , Secretary of State, <i>ad ignotum</i>	40
From the same	43
From the same	44
From the same on the Proceedings in the Star-Chamber	48
From the same	49
From the same	51
From Mr. Secretary <i>Colvert</i>	53
From the same	55
From the same	56
From the same	59
From Lord Chancellor <i>Bacon</i>	61
From the Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> ( <i>Cranmer</i> ) to Mr. <i>Cecil</i> , &c.	62
From Mr. <i>Montague</i> to the King	63
From Monsieur <i>Dupleffis</i> in <i>French</i>	64
From Lord <i>Scroop</i> to <i>Harry IV.</i> 1405,	65
From the Magistrates of <i>Nurenberg</i> to <i>Harry IV.</i> 1412	66
The Charges, Speeches, &c. of Sir <i>Henry Butler</i> , from 69 to	146
<i>Francis Phillips's</i> Petition to the King, in Behalf of Sir <i>Robert Phillips</i> , his Brother, Prisoner in the Tower	ib.
Mr. <i>Cuff's</i> remarkable Speech	152
A Character of Mr. <i>Hastings</i>	ib.
From <i>Margaret</i> , King <i>Henry</i> the VIIth's Mother, from the Original in her own Hand	155
The original Commission in King <i>Henry</i> the VIIIth's own Hand, to take Possession of Cardinal <i>Woolsey's</i> Estate	157
From the Lords of Council Tem. <i>Edw. VI.</i> , about Bells, &c. in Parish Churches	159
From the Earl of <i>Northumberland</i> to the Princess <i>Mary</i> , Daughter to King <i>Henry</i> the VIIIth	160
Council of <i>York</i> to Cardinal <i>Woolsey</i>	161
An Original of <i>Edw. VI.</i> excusing of Peers Attendance	164
From one <i>Castle</i> to Mr. <i>James Mills</i>	ib.
From Sir <i>Thomas Wharton</i> to Lord Privy Seal, 1545	168
King <i>Henry</i> the VIIIth's Declaration concerning Lady <i>Anne</i> of <i>Cleves</i>	170
Account of Letters in the Cotton Library, in 1584	170 to 181
An Order of Council, Anno 3d and 4th of <i>Philip</i> and <i>Mary</i>	183
A Rate of Abstinence put into Parliament, 10 <i>Edw. VI.</i> , by <i>John Rich</i> , Cofferer	ib.



# ii CONTENTS of the FIRST VOLUME.

A Remembrance of <i>Henry Killigrew's</i>	184 to 188
Letter from Lord <i>Northumberland</i> to the Earl of <i>Suffex</i>	ib.
From Sir <i>Francis Knolly's</i> to ditto	189
Letter or Warrant from <i>Richard</i> Earl of <i>Warwick</i> Tem. to <i>Hen. VI.</i>	190
From Queen <i>Katherine</i> , Tem. <i>Henry VIII.</i>	ib.
From <i>Richard Sampson</i> , &c. to King <i>Henry VIIIth.</i>	191 to 194
From the Lords of the Council to Sir <i>Henry Radcliff</i>	195
From the Lords of the Council to Mr. Chancellor <i>North</i> , Tem. <i>Henry VIII.</i>	ib.
From the Earl of <i>Salisbury</i> to <i>Segar</i>	196
From the Lords of the Council to Lord <i>North</i>	197
Pass for safe Conduct signed by Q. <i>Elizabeth</i>	198
From Mr. <i>William Peters</i> to the Earl of <i>Suffex</i>	199
From the Bishop of <i>Carlisle</i> to ditto	200
From Lady <i>Mountegle</i> to the Duke of <i>Norfolk</i>	201
<i>W. Cecil</i> to Lord <i>Suffex</i>	202
Lord <i>Burgbley</i> to ditto	ib.
Lord <i>Hunsdon</i> to ditto	203
Letters from the Duke of <i>Norfolk</i> to ditto—ditto to	205
Duke of <i>Norfolk</i> to Secretary <i>Cecil</i>	206
Lord <i>Wharton</i> to the Earl of <i>Suffex</i>	207
Lord <i>Windsor</i> to ditto	208
To Mr. Secretary <i>P</i>	209
Lord <i>Strange</i> to the Earl of <i>Suffex</i>	ib.
Lord <i>R. Dudley</i> to ditto	210
Two Letters of Lord <i>Cobham</i> to ditto	211
Warrant from Queen <i>Katherine</i> , 1526.	212
<i>Katherine Bassett</i> to her Mother the Lady <i>Lisle</i>	213
Lord Admiral to Lord <i>Suffex</i>	214
Sir <i>Edw. Hastings</i> to Sir <i>William Petre</i> , &c.	215
Lady <i>Mary Sidney</i> to the Earl of <i>Suffex</i>	216
Marquiss of <i>Winchester</i> to ditto	ib.
Sir <i>Edw. Hastings</i> to ditto	217
<i>Richard Rich</i> to ditto	218
Lord <i>Hunsdon</i> to Auditor <i>Tompson</i>	219
Sir <i>William Fitz-Williams</i> to Lord <i>Suffex</i>	220
Lord <i>Windsor</i> to ditto	221
Secretary <i>Mason</i> to ditto	222
Lord Admiral <i>Clinton</i> to ditto	223
Lord <i>Pembroke</i> to ditto	224
Sir <i>Thomas Smith</i> to Sir <i>Henry Radcliff</i>	ib.
Earl of <i>Southampton</i> and his Lady to Lord <i>Suffex</i> ,	225, 226
<i>Ab Ignota</i> to ditto	227
Lady <i>Howard</i> to ditto	228, 229
<i>Owen Bray</i> to ditto	230
	Ori-

# CONTENTS of the FIRST VOLUME. iii

Original Order to instal Lord Gray, then Prisoner in <i>France</i>	231
Earl of <i>Essex</i> to Lord Chamberlain	232
Letter to the Privy Council concerning Rioters in the North 1569.	ib.
Lady Stanley to the Earl of <i>Sussex</i>	234
<i>Walsingham</i> to ditto	ib.
Lord <i>Shrewsbury</i> to Lord <i>Burgbly</i>	235
Marquis of <i>Winchester</i> to <i>Hare</i>	237
Lord <i>Northumberland</i> to Lord <i>Sussex</i>	238
Commission for the Execution of the Q. of <i>Scots</i> , pen'd by <i>Burgbly</i>	239
King <i>James</i> to Queen <i>Elizabeth</i>	241
King <i>James</i> to <i>Douglas</i>	244
Two Letters from King <i>James</i> in his own Hand	ib.
Queen <i>Elizabeth</i> to the <i>Scottish</i> King	256
Lord <i>Howard</i> to Lord <i>Sussex</i>	246
<i>William Crew</i> to <i>John Carre</i>	248
Commission and Directions concerning the Treaty of Peace between <i>England, Spain, and Burgundy</i>	249
From the Bishop of <i>Ros</i> to the Council of <i>England</i>	260
The Flowers of Grace, by King <i>James</i> 1614.	262
Lord <i>Grey</i> to the Earl of <i>Sussex</i>	270
Lady <i>Morley</i> to ditto	ib.
Lady <i>Moore</i> to <i>Cromwell</i> Tem. <i>Henry VIII.</i>	271
Duke of <i>Norfolk</i> to K. <i>Henry VIII.</i>	272
Letter from <i>Margaret</i> and <i>Jane Seymour</i> to the King, in <i>Latin</i> , very curious	276
Council of the North to Lord Privy Seal	ib.
Mr. <i>Magnus</i> to Cardinal <i>Woolsey</i>	278
A Brief concerning Tenant-Right to the Barony of <i>Kendall</i>	279
Lady <i>Westmorland</i> to the Earl of <i>Sussex</i>	280
Mr. <i>Denny</i> to Sir <i>Robert Carr</i>	281
Epistle of <i>Eleutherius</i> , Bishop of <i>Rome</i> , to King <i>Luccus</i> 169,	282
Warrant from <i>Edw. VI.</i> to degrade the Duke of <i>Somerset</i>	283
Ditto from Queen <i>Mary</i> against the Duke of <i>Suffolk</i>	284
Sir <i>Humphry Radcliff</i> to the Earl of <i>Sussex</i>	ib.
Confession, &c. signed by the Duke of <i>Somerset</i>	285
Sir <i>Thomas Randolph</i> to <i>Buchannan</i>	286
Ditto to <i>Peter Young</i>	288
Lord <i>Buckingham</i> to Cardinal <i>Woolsey</i>	289
Duke of <i>Norfolk</i> to Sir <i>James Strangeways</i>	290
Earl of <i>Sussex</i> to Lord <i>Fitzwater</i>	291
Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i> to Lord <i>Sussex</i>	292
Bishop of <i>Winchester</i> to ditto	293
Bishop of <i>Chichester</i> to ditto	ib.
Bishop of <i>Gloucester</i> to ditto	294
	Earl



iv CONTENTS of the FIRST VOLUME.

Earl of <i>Derby</i> to ditto	295
Lady <i>Ruffel ad ignotum</i>	296
Lord <i>Buckhurst</i> to Lord <i>Suffex</i>	297
<i>Parry</i> , Ambassador to Lord <i>Suffolk</i>	298
<i>Powlet</i> , Ambassador to Lord <i>Suffex</i>	299
Lord <i>Grey</i> to ditto	300
Lord <i>Burleigh</i> to ditto	301
Lady <i>Oxenford</i> , his Daughter, to ditto	ib.
Earl of <i>Shrewsbury</i> to Queen <i>Mary</i>	302
Secretary <i>Walsingham</i> to Sir <i>R. Rich</i>	303
Countess of <i>Lenox</i> to Lord <i>Leicester</i>	ib.
<i>Tho. Wright</i> concerning <i>Metbwold Warren</i> in <i>Norfolk</i>	304
Sir <i>Henry Wotton</i> , Anno 1608, in answer to Lord <i>Ross</i>	307
Ditto to <i>Robert Cecil</i> , Earl of <i>Salisbury</i>	308
Lord <i>Delawar</i> to Mr. <i>Cromwell</i>	309
Lord <i>Mautravers</i> to Lord Privy Seal	310
Lady <i>Elizabeth Bruce</i> to Lord ***	311
Lady <i>Berkley</i> to Mr. <i>Cromwell</i> , afterwards Earl of <i>Essex</i>	ib.
Lady <i>Kingston</i> to Mr. <i>Wriotbesly</i>	312
Sir <i>John Parrot</i> to Lord <i>Leicester</i>	313
Lord <i>Burghley</i> to Lord <i>Suffex</i>	314
<i>George Carew</i> to Lord ***	315
<i>John Brown</i> to <i>Camden</i>	316
Sir <i>Henry Sidney</i> to Lord <i>Suffex</i>	317
Lord <i>Fitzwater</i> to ditto	319
An Account of Strangers, &c. that inherited Lands before the Statute of <i>Edw. III.</i>	ib.
A few Precedents of divers Kings creating Persons into Titles of Honour, having no Lands in the Places of their Titles	321
Intelligencies in <i>Norris's</i> , <i>Paulet's</i> , and <i>Cobham's</i> Ambassies during the religious Civil Wars in <i>France</i>	323
Articles from the Prince of <i>Condé</i> , &c.	332
Proclamation against the Prince of <i>Condé</i> , &c.	335
Request in behalf of the Prince of <i>Condé</i> , &c.	336
Speeches of Sir <i>Amias Paulet</i> , <i>Cobham</i> , &c. their Audiences in a Letter to the Queen's Majesty	339
Sir <i>Hen. Cobham</i> to Lord Chamberlain <i>Suffex</i>	351
Ditto to Sir <i>Christopher Hatton</i>	ib.
Ditto to Mr. Secretary <i>Wilson</i>	352
Ditto to Mr. Secretaries	355
Advertisements to ditto	358
Ditto to the Lords of Privy Council	359
To the Queen's Majesty, <i>Elizabeth</i>	** 360
To the Lord Treasurer <i>Burleigh</i> and Lord Chamberlain <i>Suffex</i>	** 361



# CONTENTS of the FIRST VOLUME.

To Sir <i>Francis Walsingham</i>	_____	P. 363
To Sir <i>Francis Walsingham</i>	_____	ib.
To Mr. Secretaries	_____	ib.
To the Earl of <i>Leicester</i>	_____	367
To Mr. <i>Stafford</i>	_____	368
To Lord Chamberlain, <i>Suffex</i>	_____	369
To Mr. Secretaries	_____	373
To the Earl of <i>Leicester</i>	_____	378
Certain Demands of the States General, and Monsieur's Answer	_____	379
To Sir <i>Francis Walsingham</i>	_____	* 377
<i>Letters from A. Greville, Lord Howard &amp;c, 1573 xx</i>	_____	to 536 xxx
<i>Letters by the Compiler &amp;c - 441 xxx</i>	_____	to 464

## A P P E N D I X.

<b>S</b> IR <i>Henry Cobham</i> to the Earl of <i>Leicester</i>	_____	* 379
To the Lord Treasurer	_____	382
The Duke of <i>Lenox</i> to the Earl of <i>Leicester</i>	_____	384
The first Audience of Sir <i>Harry Wotton</i>	_____	385
His second Audience	_____	386
Sir <i>Francis Vere</i> to Sir <i>Robert Sidney</i>	_____	387
Sir <i>Francis Vere</i> ad eundem	_____	390
King <i>Charles</i> the II <sup>d</sup> to the Baron of <i>Fresheim</i>	_____	392
An ancient Fragment of the Ecclesiastical and Temporal Govern- ment	_____	393
A Copy of the late Earl of <i>Argyle's</i> Speech &c	_____	399 to 432
A Letter from Robert Earl of <i>Essex</i> to the Earl of <i>Southampton</i> , when under Sentence of Death	_____	* 521
Robert Earl of <i>Essex</i> to Lord <i>Rutland</i> , about his Travels	_____	* 524
Remarkable Stratagem of the Dutchess of <i>Bavaria</i>	_____	534
An original Letter of Lord <i>Hastings</i> , beheaded by <i>Richard</i> III, to <i>Richard Butler</i> , Esq;	_____	* 535



